NIGHT ON IRON MOUNTAIN DAVID CORT

THE NATION

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'I Am Tired of Your Gimmicks' . . . A Congressman Speaks to LBJ on Vietnam and the Cold War

REP. GEORGE E. BROWN, Jr.

After the Mobilization

THE GOALS OF DISSENT

LAWRENCE GRAUMAN, Jr.

Free Press & Fancy Packages . . . The Media Learn Who Butters Their Bread

A. Q. MOWBRAY

The Case of the Private 'I'

FRANK J. DONNER

Kennan Memoirs

ROBERT G. HAZO

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LETTERS

at the border

Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIRS: Your editorial "Isolation Without Splendor" [Nov. 13] misquotes me. Many Canadians, but few immigration officers, regard 1-A draft status as evidence of a prospective Canadian immigrant's desirability. Border officials at some points are so Americanized that they mistakenly think they have an obligation to American law. I strongly recommend that draft evaders not make a point of their draft status at the Canadian border. The rest of your statement is accurate: war resisters are generally well received in Canada.

David Lloyd-Jones

selling the census

Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIRS: "The Punchcard Snoopers" by Phil Hirsch [*The Nation*, Oct. 16], contains such serious misinterpretations of Census Bureau practice that I feel the record should be corrected. . . .

The Bureau will not release individual records nor tabulations from which an individual could be identified. The fact that the Bureau has distributed detailed statistics summarized from individual census questionnaires to hundreds of users without determining what the statistics would be used for is in no way in violation of law or practice. . . . To imply that the Bureau is lax in not knowing how thousands of persons will use these statistics is counter to the principle that statistical information should be widely distributed. . . .

The statement that "while names will be kept confidential, the rest of the information on each census questionnaire will be an open book" simply is not true. The tabulations that will be prepared will not reveal individual information. They will, however, serve to pinpoint areas where specified population groups are to be found. . . . This statistical service, however, does not serve to identify any person who is in need of a particular service or who might be considered a prospect for any particular type of business activity.

A. Ross Eckler, Director
Bureau of the Census

Bethesda, Md.

DEAR SIRS: If, as Dr. Eckler admits in his letter, "the Bureau has distributed detailed statistics summarized from individual census questionnaires without determining what the statistics would be used for," I'm unable to understand how he can insist that this practice "is in no way in violation of law or practice." Wouldn't he have to know the uses before reaching that conclusion?

The subsequent defense that "statistical information should be widely distributed" is a pretty weak reed to lean on. If "wide distribution" is the major criterion, then why not sell the individual returns as well as the summaries; that would *really* attract an audience.

Dr. Eckler believes my article misinterprets Census Bureau practices. I suggest that he ask a cross section of Americans who filled out forms in 1960 how they interpreted the statement on the front of the form. . . . If any significant number of respondents inferred from the wording that Census could sell summary data about them to business firms, I'll apologize personally.

Dr. Eckler's statement that the Bureau's distribution of

(Continued on page 628)

EDITORIALS

Exit McNamara

For all practical purposes, the tenure of Robert S. McNamara is over. Ironically, in the face of an event so important, one does not know whether to be glad or sad. It could have been otherwise. Had the Secretary of Defense departed betimes, with an avowal, direct or implicit, of his differences with the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Johnson Administration, he could have performed a great service for his country. As it is, he can scarcely be said to be trailing clouds of glory. The whole affair is ambiguous, and the war situation more ominous than ever.

The Secretary's departure is political—amid all the explanations and conjectures, that is the one fact not open to doubt. He is no more needed at the World Bank than any of the directors, whose names are quite unknown to the general public. The presidency of the Bank sounds a more important job than it is; very little real power is attached to it. When you have been in charge of the biggest market in the world, spending the greater part of the whole U.S. budget annually, any other position would be a comedown, but heading up the World Bank is a ludicrous anticlimax.

Equally ludicrous is the "official" version of McNamara's move—that he and the President are deeply attached each to the other, bound by mutual loyalty that is beyond measure. Lyndon Baines Johnson is more aware of the implications of McNamara's resignation, just at this time, than any man living. Either the Secretary of Defense wanted out and used the World Bank offer as a discreet substitute for a formal resignation, or the President wanted to be rid of him, possibly to avoid some kind of ultimatum from the Joint Chiefs which could be deeply embarrassing in an election year, and simply used the Bank offer as a convenient subterfuge. (Incidentally, did Mr. George Woods just *happen* to think of McNamara as his successor, or did someone prompt him to make the offer?] The Alphonse-Gaston act, staged so belatedly, underscores the phoniness of the "official" explanation. Even at face value, the statements of the President and Mr. McNamara make no sense. There was no urgency about the Bank job and even if Mr. McNamara honestly felt that a "fresh" person might be needed at the Pentagon, he was, so he says, quite willing to stay on. Both men know vividly how difficult it will be to initiate a new person into the responsibilities which attach to the largest managerial operation in the world. A shift of this kind is not made in an election year without a reason more persuasive than mutual affection.

The political departure is the climax of political differences; that also all the world can see. The President was acting as the balance wheel between the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, but in recent months—perhaps for as long as the past year—he has ceased to balance. McNamara lost one battle after another: over the bombing targets in the North, over the "thin" ABM defense system, over the number of troops to be committed, and probably over further escalations still

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in the planning stage. In several recent instances it was clear that the decisions he publicly defended had been reached by processes contrary to his own reasoning. In short, he had ceased to function as Secretary of Defense; only the title was still his. He must have been aggrieved at the President's bland statement that the Joint Chiefs could always come to him directly without going through the Secretary, but it was a statement of the way things had come to be.

McNamara was treated shabbily by Johnson, who will cut anyone's throat when it suits his purpose, but it is hard to stir up sympathy for McNamara on that account. He should have resigned and stated his reasons. That this is almost unthinkable is a commentary on the state of American politics. If McNamara could not override the taboo against resignation on grounds of principle, who can? Such resignations are vital from the standpoint of an informed, functioning democracy. Charles Frankel had just stepped down from his position in the State Department when the McNamara storm broke. He also refrained from stating his reasons, although it was widely reported that he did not approve of Vietnamese war policy. All this respect for teamwork is very convenient for a headstrong President, but it bodes ill for the country.

To speak of "civilian control" of the military in the context of what the Pentagon has become in the last seven years is quite misleading; most of the "civilians" are more military than the men in uniform. Under McNamara, the Department of Defense has become the top management agency for American industry. It is a much more efficient, powerful and dangerous agency than it was before Mr. McNamara brought order and system into it by the application of modern management methods. Against this background, the fact that he was a restraining influence on the Joint Chiefs seems irrelevant; he has turned over to them—and to his successor, and to the President—a more terrifying mechanism than the one he inherited. The military sit firmly in the seats of power. McNamara's successor, even if he should be inclined to try to lessen their importance, will remember McNamara's fate. He will be an adviser within the department rather than its boss.

It is possible that McNamara decided to leave because yet another defeat for his policy of moderate aggression—halfway between doves and hawks—was in prospect. The timing of the Eisenhower-Bradley call for a tentative invasion of North Vietnam may be accidental, but it is probably a harbinger of further escalation. Not much is left to the hawks but chastising the Cambodians and confronting the North Vietnamese army on its own soil. A full-scale invasion is likely to follow the "end-run" advocated by Eisenhower and Bradley. It suits both the Republican and Johnsonian purposes. If it succeeds, the Republican hawks can claim the move as their own, since it was advocated by the head of the party and seconded by his chief lieutenant in World War II. For his part, the President is probably in a mood to resort to desperate measures. When he plunged into a full-scale Asian war, violating his 1964 campaign promises, he was taking a gamble. In the wake of the first gamble he was forced into others. Now, with 1968 upon him and McNamara out, the way is open for the biggest gamble of all.

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The Senator's Dilemma

Sen. Robert Kennedy has lately been trying—not too eagerly—to come to grips with the issues raised by the Vietnamese trauma. With Sen. Eugene McCarthy confronting the President, Mr. Kennedy could hardly do otherwise.

In his latest presentation—on *Face the Nation*—the Senator's tactics and his interpretation of recent history were faulty. As to the latter, Mr. Kennedy makes much of the argument that the President, in his San Antonio speech, eroded our "moral position" on the war, and departed from the principles defined by President Kennedy. The theory is that up to that time our position had been predicated on our helping the South Vietnamese defend themselves against aggression from the North. This won't wash, for several reasons. On more than one occasion, while he was President, General Eisenhower made it perfectly clear that we were in Vietnam from considerations of national interest—not merely to contain China but to maintain access to the markets and raw materials of Southeast Asia, for Japan as well as for ourselves. We wanted this because we were bent on keeping Japan in our camp and out of China's. This produces the odd spectacle of Japan's securing, with our connivance and under our protection, the very advantage it fought for unsuccessfully in World War II.

Johnson let the cat only half out of the bag at San Antonio; he placed the stress on "national security" and said almost nothing about national "interests" in a broader sense. If what the Senator means is that Johnson decided to be a bit franker, that is one thing, but he did not change the basis of the American position, with which Senator Kennedy is thoroughly familiar. We know on General Gavin's authority that China has always been the key factor, at least from 1954 on. President Johnson is responsible for the military escalation, but he did not set the policy; he has merely continued the Truman-Eisenhower-Kennedy policy.

As to the Senator's tactics, they are invalidated by the awkward fact that Sen. Eugene McCarthy has taken up the open opposition to Johnson which should properly devolve on Kennedy himself. Kennedy excuses himself on the ground that he would be accused of carrying on a Kennedy-Johnson vendetta, and of seeking the Presidency, if he were to offer a direct challenge to Johnson. He is pained by the thought that the public will not consider his criticism of Vietnamese policy on its merits. But the evasion is transparent. The whole country knows he wants to be President, nor is there anything wrong with that ambition. His real reason for not challenging the President directly, and for remaining his nominal supporter, is that he probably feels the Republicans will win in '68. Therefore, if he were to get into the fight now, he could be accused later of splitting the Democratic Party and contributing to the defeat. Again his reasoning is faulty. The Democratic Party could hardly be split more sharply that it is at the moment. Look at the Senate; look at the state organizations. Not only is the party split but most Democrats have no desire to run in harness with Johnson. If he is nominated, he may drag down some who might otherwise succeed.

Kennedy assures us that the GOP cannot be relied upon to come up with a realistic alternative policy; only the Democrats can or might. But if this is true, and if the Senator feels that he is not the best candidate to challenge Johnson, then, but his own logic, he should actively support Senator McCarthy. After all, the GOP will be of little avail for another year, during which time crucial decisions may be made by the harried Johnson, spurred on by a military that is now more than ever in a position to exert a decisive influence on policy. A strong counterpressure from within the Democratic Party itself would reduce the imminent danger of recklessness.

Kennedy encourages McCarthy—he likes the idea of a meaningful dialogue on the war within the Democratic Party—but he supports Johnson and Humphrey. Yet he claims to be taking a moral position. Important as the war is, even more is at stake. If Kennedy is distressed that young people are losing confidence in politics and taking to the streets to protest, why does he not do what he can to restore their confidence by taking an unequivocal stand himself? He would be clearly the strongest contender. However, if he does not want that role for himself then his active support would greatly improve Senator McCarthy's chances. Or does he wish us to suspect that he will stay in a neutral corner until McCarthy scores significant victories in the primaries and disables the Johnson machine, whereupon Kennedy will move in with his own machine and fight for the nomination? Senator Kennedy may not like it, but events have put him on the spot. If he does not wish to discredit himself, he must suit the action to the word, and that soon.

The Lion Is Not Dead

United Nations

While the pound took a dip in the Thames, British credit registered a marked increase the last few weeks at the United Nations, where British diplomacy has made an impressive comeback.

It was the British representative, Lord Caradon, who after months of wrangling submitted the resolution on the Middle East which was adopted unanimously by the Security Council. The resolution finally led to the appointment of a UN special representative for the Middle East, which opens a new, if difficult, phase in the search for stability in the area. While Lord Caradon's initiative did not bring forward really new ideas—formulas and counter-formulas on "principles" to achieve a just peace had been exchanged *ad nauseam*—he found just the right relationship between duties and obligations of the parties. Above all, he observed the essential rule for any successful diplomatic deal: proper timing. In a larger sense, the British proposal reflected the renewal of ties between Cairo and London, ably negotiated by Sir Harold Beeley, and a modest but not insignificant resumption of British influence in the Middle East, where United States support for Israel has resulted in a temporary American lockout. The timing also coincided with Russia's apparent disenchantment with the unrealistic claims of the Arab cause.

Renewed respect for Britain showed itself when the UN intervened in another storm center—Cyprus. While suggestions were made for the departure of swollen Greek

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and Turkish contingents from the island, no word was heard (even from the Soviet Union) against the British base in Cyprus. The United Nations peace force in Cyprus, of which British troops form the largest contingent, was commended as the best instrument for the preservation of order.

Another annual General Assembly attack on Britain over the question of Aden faded away as London realistically advanced the date of independence for the South Arabian Federation, and British negotiators worked against the clock to hammer out an agreement between rival Arab factions in the territory, in order to transfer power to them on November 30.

These developments have undoubtedly regained some prestige for Britain in the international community on the East River and offset the systematic battering it has endured for years because of its colonial policies in Africa and Asia.

ANNE TUCKERMAN

'How To Prepare For College'

To General Westmoreland, the busiest press agent the U.S. Army has ever produced, the battles at Dakto marked "the beginning of a great defeat for the enemy." For many of the young men of the Second Battalion of the 173rd Airborne, it meant only nights of terror and agony, brought to an end by death. "Everybody was trying to get underground," a survivor related. "Every time you tried to dig, you put your shovel in somebody. The dead guys were everywhere." And amid the litter of the battlefield, someone found a tattered paperback copy of *How To Prepare for College*.

Now, less than a week after Hill 875 was taken, doubts are emerging and questions are being asked. Hedrick Smith reports from Washington in the November 29 *New York Times* that American officials acknowledge that North Vietnam, as well as the "allied forces," achieved important gains in the Dakto fighting. As usual, with the aid of air power—lacking which American forces could literally be driven out of Vietnam—North Vietnamese and Vietcong casualties were several times those of the American and such South Vietnamese forces as took part in the fighting. In return, American troops had to be diverted from the pacification program in central Vietnam, where for the time being the enemy has the initiative. The cost on the "allied" side is some 300 Americans killed and 1,000 wounded, plus about 200 South Vietnamese casualties.

"Last spring," one Washington official is quoted as saying, "we were freewheeling. We were deciding where and when to fight, we were taking the initiative with operations like Cedar Falls and Junction City. Now, we are reacting to their initiative and they are forcing us to shift our forces around." But we have Hill 875, and the American boy who wanted to go to college is probably among our 300 dead.

The pessimism in Washington, below the level of the bestarred and ambassadorial press agents, is an echo of the feeling in the combat areas. Peter R. Kann, the *Wall Street Journal's* man at Dakto, quotes a weary U.S. infantry officer standing on the 875 summit: "If this were conventional warfare," the officer said, "this hill would have strategic value. It commands that valley. . . . [But] it isn't conventional warfare. So that valley doesn't have any strategic value. Neither does the hill."

At the Marne and at Verdun, in World War I, Germans and Frenchmen engaged in mutual slaughter on equal terms, air power not having reached the stage where it could be used for ground support. The carnage was appalling and some French infantry units mutinied. The two sides squandered their lives for *la patrie* and *das Vaterland*, with a show, at least, of plausibility, since the two countries were contiguous. In the Vietnamese War Americans are dying far from home, with the Pacific Ocean and the U.S. Navy between home and battleground. At Dakto they fought valiantly and all honor is due to both the living and the dead, but it is hard to think of a war in which lives have been sacrificed more needlessly. For the soldiers one can feel only compassion; the guilt of those who send them on their futile missions stains our history.

Alas, Poor Nixon

Citizens who have feared that their electoral duties might be perplexed in 1968 by the appearance of a "new Nixon" in the sweepstakes may be at least partly reassured. Judging from his one-hour trial run on N.E.T. on the evening of November 27, the model has been somewhat improved as to body styling but the basic chassis remains the same.

The passing years have incised lines of maturity into Mr. Nixon's face, giving the TV engineers planes and shadows of statesmanship to illuminate. His performance is also much smoother, with enough reserve power so that he does not strain on the tough questions. The suggestion that politics is the art of back scratching does not cause him to shift into the role of outraged choir boy; rather he elevates the practice to an ethical principle (idealism, Mr. Nixon notes, is an aberration of youth, causing it to leap into the maelstrom of principle instead of seeking the pools of consensus). He has learned to laugh with frank teeth, and without seeming to discover himself the victim of a practical joke.

But the defect that has plagued Mr. Nixon in all his frustrated races to glory has not been corrected: he still cannot look you in the eye without giving the impression that he is about to produce a bottle of headache tablets in his right hand. Ask him about Vietnam, and a tape recorder immediately seems to take over from the man on camera. The fault merely is not in the simplistic rationalizations of the views, but that the views have so obviously been memorized and practiced before a mirror.

Next Week

MILITARISM, MILITANCY And The STUDENTS

A special issue devoted to the clash between authority and conscience now inflaming the nation's campuses, and to an evaluation of the ideology and strategy of the insurgent students.

Books & The Arts will be devoted to customary year-end roundups.

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Mr. Nixon has always seen public service as a form of salesmanship; he is hardly alone in this, but it is his misfortune that he is a poor salesman. He inevitably, and fatally, betrays the fact that he is speaking not from conviction but from the pages of a promotion kit. Alas, poor Nixon—he must use television, and television will destroy him.

John Wayne's Green Beret

Thus far, Hollywood producers have made no pictures about the war in Vietnam because they feel that the unpopular war is box-office poison. Not so John Wayne; the old cowboy star is now filming *The Green Berets,* Robin Moore's nonfiction novel about the "Special Forces." Judging from a well-documented story in a recent issue of *Variety,* Moore's "hard-headed expose of Special Forces' unorthodox and often 'unprincipled' methods . . . has become a big action outdoor adventure picture, as producer Mike Wayne puts it"—and blatant hawk propaganda for the Vietnamese War.

In transforming the novel into a screenplay, the two Waynes have made a number of interesting changes. For example, according to *Variety,* "the Berets are no longer seen violating international agreements; condoning torture; employing bandits, delinquents, opium smugglers or prostitutes. None of them now demonstrates a cynical unconcern for the lives of his allies, nor do they view the Vietnamese strike forces as 'lousy little dirty bugouts,' just as likely as not to be members of the Viet Cong."

"In the book . . . a Special Forces camp . . . is commanded by a Finnish-born former member of the Nazi army who has surrounded himself with an 'all-Anglo Saxon' team. In the film, it is Captain Kirby (John Wayne) in command, and his associates are a varied lot, with such names as Muldoon, Kowalski and Doc (a Negro)."

"While Viet Cong brutality is played up, none of the book's many descriptions of South Vietnamese brutality is included. . . . Also omitted is any mention of U.S. or South Vietnamese airstrikes which Moore's book says 'turns hamlets of loyal peasants into VC sympathizers over-night.' "

The film is made with the cooperation of the Department of Defense, which supplies the war equipment used by the actors, and in turn "has been working with the producers on script revisions for close to a year"—although John Wayne's long proclivity for right-wing causes would make it seem doubtful that Defense had to ask for much rewriting.

What is most appalling is Mike Wayne's claim that "we're not making a political picture; we're making a picture about a bunch of right guys. . . . It's cowboys and Indians . . . . In a motion picture you cannot confuse the audience. The Americans are the good guys and the Viet Cong are the bad guys . . . . Maybe we shouldn't have destroyed all those Indians, but when you're making a picture, the Indians are the bad guys."

Variety asked Wayne "what he would have done if he'd been making a picture about the Indians at the time they were being killed. Wouldn't he have worried about the effect on his audience, who'd have ended up thinking of them as 'bad guys' and might have gone out and shot some more of them? What was his view on the propriety of making a big 'entertainment' about a war in which many men on both sides were still dying? His answer was: 'I can't help wars. I'm not making this picture for any political reason or anything. I'm making a motion picture that will make money'."

Since the Waynes declare themselves to be motivated only by nonpolitical greed, it would be futile to denounce their Minute Man perversion of the facts. If the public will stay away from their glorification of this most odious operation of a wholly odious war, the Waynes will suffer in their pocketbooks—the only place where they can be really hurt.

Meanwhile, congratulations to *Variety* for breaking the story.

A CONGRESSMAN SPEAKS TO THE PRESIDENT

'I AM TIRED OF YOUR GIMMICKS'

Rep. GEORGE E. BROWN, Jr.

Congressman Brown, Democrat from Los Angeles County, has been at various times a graduate fellow of the Fund for Adult Education, and vice president of the Monarch Savings and Loan Association. He is a member of the AFL-CIO International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and of the Wider Quaker Fellowship.

Today we witness the continued escalation of the military action in Asia—matched of course by the other side. Similarly we see an escalation of debate about the war here in the United States, with more and more indication that some efforts are being made to use this period as one of constructive dialogue on the fundamental structure of American foreign policy. There is even some faint sign that the American two-party system may rise to the challenge and present to the electorate a reasoned choice of policies in next year's election, rather than an elaborate but meaningless discourse of platitudes.

What follows here is my contribution to the debate and dialogue on the present situation. Rumors are now current that the President, having treated the hawks to a period of escalation which enlarged target lists in North Vietnam and increased troop levels in South Vietnam, may be about to treat the doves to a period of intensified diplomatic activity coupled with a bombing pause, thus maintaining his posture as a moderate pursuing the course of consensus.

As one dove in good standing, I wish to say to the

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President: Mr. President, spare yourself the trouble. Do not do it. You have treated the citizens of this country and of the world at large to this type of activity before. It will no longer have on them the effect you desire; it may have the reverse effect, decreasing at even faster pace your credibility and popular standing in the polls—particularly if it is followed by renewed escalation, as has been the case previously.

The North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front have made clear that they will not respond to a

Tribune, London

Rep. George E. Brown, Jr.

bombing pause. They would prefer that we continue the bombing. It is hurting us more than it is them.

I would like to say to you, Mr. President—and to your colleague, Secretary Rusk—gentlemen, I am tired of your gimmicks. Until you are ready to face reality and take the steps which you know and I know are necessary to get a political settlement in Vietnam, spare me pious incantations about "unconditional negotiations" and "self-determination" for Vietnam.

You know and I know that your course today is aimed at perpetuating the present government in Saigon, with no concessions to the National Liberation Front in terms of free participation in the process of government. You know that this amounts to calling for unconditional surrender, since participation in the government is what the NLF is fighting for. Therefore, you are doomed to continue this war until you achieve "unconditional surrender," or are yourself defeated. I believe that this country would be better served if you would explain frankly that this is your goal, and why.

Few people in this country today believe that anything we could do in an Asian peasant country of 15 million is worth a down payment approaching $100 billion (I do not speak now of the cost in lives on both sides), with a long-term contract that may cost several times that. For that amount of money we could help India, which represents 90 per cent of the people living under a democratic system on the Asian mainland (and nearly half of those living under democratic systems in the entire world), make itself into a model for Asian democracy. That would change the course of history. We get nothing for our investment in South Vietnam except an indefinite future of trouble. In terms of serving the future of democratic governments in Asia, no worse misapplication of resources could be imagined.

So what are your reasons, Mr. President, for seeking "unconditional surrender" in South Vietnam? Let the Congress and the American people know, so that we may debate and decide them on their merit, rather than engage in a futile and frustrating exercise over ambiguous or meaningless phrases.

Much of the reason for your insistence on "victory" and "unconditional surrender" must come from a feeling that Vietnam is part of the "cold war" against communism, a war this country has been waging without halt since 1945. This fixation on the "cold war" led us to install Syngman Rhee as the head of an unpopular Korean Government, and refuse participation in that government to any "left-wing" forces. This decision, made in 1946, precipitated the Korean War in 1950, has left a divided Korea as a chronic and dangerous sore on the Asian mainland, and has cost us well over $100 billion and several hundred thousand casualties. Nearly eighteen years later we are still paying exorbitant amounts of our taxpayers' dollars each year and keeping 50,000 U.S. troops in Korea to prove that we won something.

The tragic aspect of all this is that in Korea we were reacting to Russian communism, spending our resources without heed to prevent the Kremlin from having a major influence on a united country, and today we are eagerly seeking ways to extend the hand of friendship to Russia. And Russia is finding that its own excessively zealous efforts to maintain by military force Communist governments on its own borders was perhaps a fruitless expenditure of resources, as more and more of these governments seek to go their own nationalist ways.

We continued the cold war by deciding to support Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa, after first deciding not to intervene in an obviously hopeless Chinese situation. Today a new generation of Americans has almost forgotten that Formosa is a part of China, and many even feel that we are defending another gallant free nation there instead of interfering, as is the case, in an unfinished civil war.

The basic policy and decisions we are defending today in South Vietnam are the policy and decisions made in 1954 by Dulles to sabotage the Geneva Agreements and to create another point of confrontation with revolutionary communism on the Asian mainland.

The basic question, Mr. President, is not South Vietnam but the policy underlying South Vietnam. Are we

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today going to maintain the course of the cold war, perhaps attempting to shift its focus from Russia to China, or are we going to seek a more promising road to peace and a modicum of freedom in the world?

Is there a more promising road? A person who urges that we face honestly the facts of the cold war, and weigh and examine its value in achieving peace, economic progress and political freedom, always faces the danger that he will be accused of favoring communism. I am convinced that our almost blind and automatic dedication to the cold war and its continued military, diplomatic and other confrontations, not only with communism but with all types of revolutionary movement around the world, is furthering communism. It is also driving us inexorably toward another world war—this time with China—and is depriving two-thirds of the human race of any real chance to solve the economic problems that confront them. This is tragedy on a scale hitherto unknown to mankind. It is tragedy which can be averted, but only if we act now. There will be no next generation to correct our failures.

The cold war is at its center an ideological struggle. On our side we see it as a confrontation between our system of political and economic freedom and the Communist system of political and economic tyranny. The Communist side, using a different set of glasses, sees the goal of political and economic power for the masses through the overthrow of a system dominated by an all-powerful capitalist class. The views of neither side can survive close scrutiny by objective observers, yet the struggle has developed into one having many aspects of a holy war, using all the symbols which generate emotional commitment without rational analysis.

Why is the cold war not inhibiting communism? Communism is the response of a desperate people to intolerable economic, social and political conditions. It promises the destruction of the rich and the rapid progress of the poor. In a world that is predominantly poor and making little progress, its promises are seductive.

The cold war consumes per year resources worth $200 billion. By rough calculation, the total income of the poorest two-thirds of mankind is also $200 billion per year. The money spent on the cold war prevents any solution to their problems. The present rate of economic development of the poor countries would, under the most optimistic conditions, double their per capita incomes every thirty years or so, or about every two generations in these countries where life is short. In five generations, they might aspire to per capita incomes of $200 or $300 per year instead of their present $50 or $100 per year. The prospect is so hopeless that any call for revolutionary violence is met with enthusiasm by the masses. I believe that most Americans would react with the same revolutionary violence if confronted by the same problems. The violence in the ghettos is to some degree so motivated.

Under these circumstances, any victories we win in the poor countries of the world are meaningless. For a fleeting moment and at untold cost we hold back the flood, but the pressure will continue to increase until it is overwhelming. We are not responding to the problem; we are compounding it. What will prevent revolutionary violence? One thing only. Hope based on progress.

The poor countries of the world require, for a hope sufficient to inspire them, a rate of economic development that shows meaningful progress in each generation. Probably this means a rate of increase in GNP per capita of 8 to 10 per cent per year instead of 2 to 3 per cent. If this were translated into money, it would mean probably an infusion, in total, of an additional $10 billion per year into their economic life, or 5 per cent of what the cold war costs the people of the world.

Of course, more than money is required. The other things include an end to wars and the threat of war, and dedication by the poor nations themselves to solving their own long-standing social and political problems. The greatest problem, that of population control, must be solved by their own efforts. Only then can they begin to solve the next most important problem of an adequate food supply.

> There are events in history for which acquiescence is complicity. Vietnam is such an event. Many in America are beginning to realize that. Many are beginning to see that the time for quiet counsel has given way to a new demand: the demand for open opposition and forthright dissent. . . .
>
> Vietnam is our nightmare. And it is not just an American problem. It is the great problem of the West. . . . So I have come tonight not so much as an American Congressman, but rather as a member of the Parliament of the West. Those of us in America who seek to end this war are beginning to feel signs of hope in public opinion if not public policy. We are building a momentum which, if sustained, can ultimately achieve its goals. But that momentum must be replenished with energy by events in America, in Vietnam, in the United Nations, in the Vatican and the other great churches of the world, in the Communist nations, and in all the great democracies whose commitment to peace and skill in democracy are beyond dispute. And it is in this spirit that I have come to address you.
>
> *George E. Brown, Jr., speaking to the annual* Tribune *rally at the British Labour Party Conference*

Although the amount of money required to provide hope of progress to the poor nations is ridiculously small when measured against the demands of the cold war, the pressures for even more cold-war expenditures by the rich nations, fueled by the emotional fervor of ideological commitment, and backed by fantastically powerful industrial-military institutions, is immeasurably greater than the pressures seeking a solution to the real problems of humanity. Yet the pressures of revolutionary communism cannot otherwise be met.

This condition must be changed. It can be changed only if the dialogue of Vietnam can be translated into the dialogue of human progress.

So I say to you, Mr. President, and to Secretary Rusk, let us be done with trivialities and subterfuges. Let us make it clear that what is at stake is an effort to stem a vast revolutionary tide rising in the poor nations of the earth. Let us debate whether that tide can be stemmed

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by $100 billion in Korea, $100 billion in South Vietnam, and further hundreds of billions to protect other dictatorships in "free" countries around the world. Or would it be cheaper in human life and dollars to spend $5 billion or $10 billion per year in a real effort to achieve some economic progress?

Instead of a CIA that haunts the undergrounds of the Third World, perhaps a similar number of dedicated scholars, teachers and technicians honestly seeking to help those people would accomplish our goals better—including our goal of getting honest information about the conditions of that world. Only if we meet this problem squarely can the United States play a significant role in the world today. Only by facing and resolving it can we cure our schizophrenia of national purpose. The debate on Vietnam can help to achieve this, but only if you, Mr. President, will take the lead by being honest with the American people as to why we are in Vietnam.

AFTER THE MOBILIZATION

THE GOALS OF DISSENT

LAWRENCE GRAUMAN, Jr.

Mr. Grauman, who teaches literature at Vassar College, is completing a book on American writers and political investigation.

If the most recent Washington anti-war demonstration can be said to have demonstrated anything, it was that the peace movement has very little clearer idea of its purposes and possibilities than the Administration has of its foreign policy. The nation, Sen. Albert Gore said recently, "should be willing to accept less than what is and has been our real objective in Southeast Asia in return for a cessation of the conflict." Partisans of the Vietnam protest movement know very well that neither Mr. Gore nor anyone else in Washington has said much about what that "real objective" is or ought to be. What they do not seem to know very well are their own real objectives, up to or beyond the obvious imperative of ending the war.

Now that the veterans of the October Mobilization are settling into nostalgic recollection of their finest hours at the Pentagon, now that the Administration has counter-attacked with new bombing in North Vietnam and the same Hubert Humphrey everywhere, and now that President Johnson has shrugged off the "restraining" counsel of Secretary McNamara, those of us who intend to continue to oppose American foreign policy had better begin to ask ourselves: what are we trying to achieve, through what means and with what allies?

If the recent Mobilization is to be instructive, a few distinctions must be stressed. Press coverage was not only as irresponsible as most demonstrators expected it would be but has assumed greater strategic significance than its effects on past protests would have suggested. This factor includes the self-fulfilling effect of the mass media upon the demonstrators themselves, as well as a consequent severe overreaction by much of the liberal and radical press. Second, while only a few thousand young zealots engaged in acts of violent provocation—these out of a total of more than 70,000 protesters who gathered peacefully at the Lincoln Memorial—they have had an increasingly disproportionate influence on the anti-war movement, in terms both of how it is viewed by the general public and how it is beginning to view its own role in the conduct of democratic politics. Moreover, the older leadership of organized anti-war protest (it is becoming difficult to call it a "peace movement") must be seen as ambiguous and at present inadequate to the complexities of political change. Finally, the October Mobilization should be analyzed with regard to the different forms of opposition manifested during the weekend, at least one stratagem—that of "conscientious resistance"—affording an instructive contrast to the uncivil disobedience of the Pentagon siege.

Dr. Benjamin Spock, that most unpolitical of activists, indicated what the strategic value of the Washington Mobilization might have been when he said at the Lincoln Memorial: "We, the protesters, are the ones who may help to save our country if we can persuade enough of our fellow citizens to think and vote as we do." (We can be forgiven for wincing when he said, the following day on a C.B.S. interview, that the violence of the Pentagon demonstration hadn't damaged the cause of the anti-war movement: "I didn't find it distasteful myself; and I would imagine that the majority of American people would not find it distasteful.") But by the time Dr. Spock had spoken to the assembled thousands, the responses of the country at large and of much of his immediate audience had been determined by a pervasive anticipation of disorder perniciously conveyed in the pre-march coverage of *The Washington Post*, the *Evening Star*, the wire services, the national television networks and most local radio stations.

Of course, it would be naive to think that press coverage of protest demonstrations would be sympathetic, or even responsible, if only excessive behavior were somehow suppressed. (After the April Mobilization in New York, *Time* dismissed it as a rabble of hippies and dupes; after the Washington march, *Time* characterized the April event as a model of responsible dissent. You can't please *Time*—or *The New York Times*, for that matter.) And organizers of protest demonstrations certainly cannot afford to consider the approval of the press as a primary determinant of their commitments. But why must so many radicals treat this as an either/or situation? The fact remains that the greater part of the anti-war movement still believes in democratic politics—specifically,

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public opinion expressed either through the media or in elections—and thus if the adherents of mass opposition would make a serious attempt to relate their speech and behavior to the tactics of intelligent, calculated civil disobedience (in any case, the only tactics of extreme opposition likely to elicit productive response), they could begin to use the press as an affirmative, if still unwilling, agency of persuasion.

Perhaps the worst effects which the recent excesses have had on international opinion were illustrated by a wirephoto that was widely printed in the European press. It showed the contorted face of a young American pacifist, screaming with hatred; the veins of a desperate contempt defined his neck, and his fists were clenched under a policeman's blank riot mask. Naturally, nothing can be done to prevent this kind of editorial judgment from distorting the collective image of all those who oppose American violence in Vietnam, but anyone who was in Oakland or at the Pentagon march knows that it would not have been difficult to take such a photo, and many demonstrators are beginning to ask themselves in what manner could a pacifism so fierce and so despising differ from the violence and brutality of men in iron helmets?

The Vietnam protest movement is today convulsed with dispute over the propriety of countering violence with violence, and many older activists have become very defensive when assessing the value of recent confrontations. Why must we talk about the actions of a few thousand immature but well-meaning kids, they argue, when hundreds of thousands of serious students are willing to present their respectably dressed and disciplined bodies in courageous opposition to a government gone mad? If the old Social Democrats can't stand the pace, why don't they get out of the way and let the students do their own thing? And besides, most reports of student violence at the Pentagon were obviously distorted.

These new apologists for revolutionary youth (and there are a surprising number of them) could begin by reading the press reports of the students themselves. One young man who spent the night outside the Pentagon writes that by midnight the demonstrators could no longer attract reinforcements. "Nobody came to watch what was going on near the steps of the capital [*sic*]. Everyone who was anyone had gone home—disgusted with the conduct of the demonstrators" (Stephen D. Lerner in the *Harvard Crimson*). Many of the student reporters were impressed by the courage of their fellows, but "the heroism stopped at a point," one wrote. "It stopped when the people on the Pentagon's steps would not accept the burden of their action" (Daniel Okrent in the *Michigan Daily*).

But more important than the uncivilized provocations by a relatively small number of zealots on the lawns of the Pentagon (and in the streets of Oakland), is the fact that a growing number of radicals—young and old—are willing to accept or condone violence and disorder as an inevitable consequence of escalating resistance. Thousands of students, teachers and young professional people who themselves would never dream of taunting a trooper or raising the Vietcong flag are now prepared to honor the claims of a guerrilla *mystique*. The cult of the *deed*, the revolutionary will, has gained an inflated currency in the protest movement (as it has among Black Power partisans), and there is evidence that this guerrilla mentality will increasingly influence the deliberations of protest organizers.

Many of the young people along the cutting edge of the anti-war movement have been moved by the writings and presences of Fidel Castro, Régis Debray and Che Guevara. (Huge posters of Guevara were selling very well at the Lincoln Memorial.) What they seem to admire most is *machismo*—the Latin American cult which exalts virility in speech, action and dress, and tends to express virility by bravado, courage and ruthlessness.

Although this cult tends most often to afford some young American radicals merely a convenient and superficial mode for the expression of style, it occasionally becomes the source of basic political strategy, and the results can be disastrous. A girl in the Washington march was heard crying out in despair: "We came here to shut down the Pentagon, and we're not doing it!" Of course, if one really intends to shut down the Pentagon, one must come with armor-piercing ordnance and be prepared to die. That is armed insurrection, not protest or civil disobedience.

Although the vast majority of those who went to the Pentagon did so as an act of limited protest, and although no one went armed, far too many of those who were highly visible seemed not to understand the difference between civil disobedience and insurrection. They were not helped by leaders of the Mobilization, who were so desperate to embrace the widest possible coalition of anti-war activists that they made deliberately ambiguous statements right up to the time of departure for the Pentagon—with the result that those groups which gathered in the north parking lot were encouraged to improvise supposedly salutary modes of provocation.

Thus the recent anti-war protests in Washington, Oakland and a few points in between can be seen as the culmination of a tendency—developed mainly by a segment of the students but drawing increasingly upon professors and a few nonacademic ideological advisers—to transform protest into apocalypse, a "final conflict" in which extreme gestures of opposition will elicit punitive retaliation from the authorities. Such a policy, appealing as it does to desperation and sectarian ultimatism, is certain to produce vast publicity; but what it will not do is generate much public support or productive political impact. It "proves," in the view of its supporters, various theses about the irrevocability of the reactionary course of Johnson's foreign policy, the power of the military-industrial complex, and so on; but such theoretical satisfactions hardly compensate for a failure to affect the actual course of events.

Moreover, there is a danger that the shock troops of the New Left have transformed their style of *machismo* into the very substance of their revolt; that the values of bravery, resistance to temptation and personal endurance have become the substance of, and perhaps even a replacement for, political ideas. Many of the young activists who besieged the Pentagon seemed to have transformed their sense of style into the will to shock, the desire to assault the sensibilities of a world they cannot overcome. But

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since many young radicals in fact accept the *donné* of American society, which they have little hope or expectation of changing substantially, they will thereby finally settle, in effect, for no more than a mode of personal differentiation, expressed largely in the externals of dress, language, furnishings and a ritualized code of conduct. This kind of settlement helps to explain the temporary alliance of activists and hippies within many of the recent anti-war demonstrations.

Some radical writers and academic people have become resentful of this kind of critique, which strikes them as preachy and indiscriminate. The manners and style of the young seem to them in many ways preferable to those of a sober, decent, worthy man like, for example, Mike Mansfield—who has betrayed his doubts about the war but voted consistently for every military appropriation. One can understand and appreciate the style of the young when it emanates from a deeply rooted reaction to that kind of conventionality in places of authority; one can respect the courage of young men who are willing to go to jail rather than serve in Vietnam; but one need not conclude, therefore, that the style of the young—even the serious young—is any more likely to provide an effective political response to the horrors of American foreign policy than is the compromised "leadership" of Mike Mansfield.

Part of this trouble with style—and while we can talk confidently of only a few thousand young radicals, it should be recognized that they are generally, in matters of public protest, the style-setters—is that militant youth now finds itself trapped in a symbiotic relationship with the very middle class it rejects. Dependent upon the middle-brow press for their self-definition, student activists have too often had to adopt a rigid anti-style with which to confront a "reactionary Establishment." Consider, for example, the curious spectacle in Washington: leaders of the Mobilization spent hours in earnest consultation with government officials in order to establish the boundaries they could later violate, and to set up first-aid tents and "arrest booths" at the Pentagon. (The arrest booths, which never appeared, were to have served as central sources of advice to the demonstrators about the nature of the march permit and the legal consequences of violation. Lawyers presumably would have been in attendance to facilitate efficient displays of noncooperation.) This symbiotic relationship expresses itself in other, more ominous ways. Writing of the Washington Mobilization, the editors of *The New Republic* observed that "it wasn't as dignified or as spruce a demonstration as the one two years ago, when 35,000 people who gathered at the Washington Monument had been carefully prepurged by SANE of all elements who might fail to counsel strict non-violence or who might not look quite respectable. But it's a very different, much bigger and more savage war, that's now being more bitterly protested." This kind of rationalization reveals the most dangerous effect of political symbiosis: that since there are only two perspectives from which to view the conduct of American foreign policy (just as there are only two perspectives from which to view "the struggle for world domination"), and since these two perspectives are determined and altered in response to each other, then an escalation of savagery will inevitably elicit an increasing measure of counter-savagery.

Abu, Tribune (London): Ben Roth

"Of Course We All Want Peace—And We're Ready To Fight For It"

Given the present crisis in American politics, one cannot afford to disparage the strategy (or the absence of it) of the Vietnam protest movement without proposing what the military planners call "viable alternatives." At least one alternative has been suggested by the formation of a group called the Conscientious Resistance; how viable it is remains to be seen, though it has already afforded an instructive contrast to the mindless aggressions of the Pentagon siege. The Conscientious Resistance was recently organized by a number of writers and academic people—including William Sloan Coffin, Noam Chomsky and Dwight Macdonald—who intend to support the refusal of young men to serve in Vietnam by organizing the "conscientious core of America's middle-class professional community" to expose itself to the

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legal consequences of aiding, abetting and counseling these men against conscription. By the Friday afternoon preceding the Mobilization, the conscientious core had grown to include Robert Lowell, Norman Mailer, Ashley Montagu, Seymour Melman, Marcus Raskin and more than 300 writers, students, clergymen and professors from most of the major colleges and universities in the East.

Organizers of the Resistance had brought to Washington representatives of twenty-four local and regional groups around the country, and each of these young men had brought with him the draft cards that had been collected in his locality. Prior to marching to the Justice Department, the over-30 contingent of professional people all signed statements that committed them to a specific, public affirmation of support for draft resisters, and conceivably opened the way to their prosecution under Section 12 of the Selective Service Act. A simple and at times eloquent ceremony was held in front of the Justice Department, during which 1,000 draft cards were collected. Then a delegation composed of several students and several prominent professional men went inside to confront one of Ramsey Clark's assistant attorneys general. As expected, the federal attorneys refused to accept the draft cards; they also declined to press charges against the writers and scholars who had tried to engage them in a legal confrontation.

The Resistance strategy has thus yielded several temporary conditions favorable to public dissent: It will be difficult for the Justice Department to pick off individual resisters in selective prosecutions without also taking to trial Professors Chomsky, Melman, Montagu and the rest of the conscientious core; it will be difficult for the Justice Department to prosecute several hundred of the most prominent writers and teachers in the country without arousing the latent resentment of colleagues, deans, students, publishers and much of the as yet unheard from middle-class community; and it will be difficult for the Justice Department to explain why it is not fulfilling its constitutional obligation to proceed against lawbreakers. (For the moment the Administration is claiming that these provisions of the Selective Service Act are under review in the federal courts.) In this way many militant young students joined with older people of various political persuasions in a carefully calculated expression of total noncooperation with the American war in Vietnam, a form of civil disobedience that is both morally relevant to tactical considerations and likely to be politically persuasive.

Now that McNamara's departure increases the possibility of further escalation—including the immediate prospect of such horrors as the mining of Haiphong harbor—it appears that many more people will be considering civil disobedience than have ever considered it before; and so it becomes even more important that civil disobedience be considered clearly and in the terms whereby it might be justified. If large numbers of Americans are going to choose this mode of protest, they must justify their choice in moral and political, as well as emotional, terms—assessing its consequences for others (and for the anti-war movement as a whole), as well as for themselves.

Since the obligation to act in accordance with law increases in direct proportion to the progress of democracy, Americans must recognize the special character of civil disobedience in this quasi-democratic society. (The United States is not a non-democratic country, no matter how monstrous our government may seem to us now; nor is it a truly democratic country, as long as such gross inequalities of power exist among various cultural and economic groups, and as long as there is no effective popular participation in decisions made on foreign policy.) In a democratic or even quasi-democratic society the confined character of civil disobedience is most appropriate to its social environment. It requires that disobedience, when it is finally determined upon, be of a calculated and limited character, that it be directed toward specific changes in social structure, public policy or law—though these changes may be substantial ones—but not toward the total transformation of state or society.

This commitment to self-restraint has been manifested in a number of ways, most notably in nonviolent behavior during the course of disobedient action, and in nonresistance to officers who enforce the law. There should be as close a connection as possible between the disobedient action and the object of protest. Traditionally, limits have also been self-imposed by the deliberately public character of the action and by the public explanations offered in its defense—gestures which can cut two ways in a society where the press is available to diverse persuasions. [See "Law, Speech and Disobedience" by Carl Cohen, *The Nation*, March 28, 1966.]

Although civil disobedience has been advocated and justified by many different people in a number of social and historical situations—e.g., Thoreau, William Morris, Kropotkin, the violators of the Fugitive Slave Law, Gandhi, civil rights workers—the only justification for it as a stratagem of the Vietnam protest movement would be in terms of a democratic political campaign, as an expression of collective determination to persuade the citizenry of the rightness or wrongness of a particular policy or law. Since democratic politics doesn't operate by majority rule alone, since it is also responsive to the relative strengths of conviction, intensity, endurance and organization, a minority that is deeply committed to a particular interest frequently prevails—and frequently should—over an apathetic majority. When civil disobedience is a mode of expressing moral conviction or exceptional concern, it says, in effect: "You, the majority (or the constituted authority), you can have your way, but you had better consider carefully how badly you want it, because you are going to have to put me in jail to get it. . . ." Thus, for civil disobedience to be effective it must have an unambiguous political objective and must be limited by collective decisions as to how that objective may be best achieved.

The essential question now confronting the confronters of war makers is whether or not they are prepared to set limits on the decisions and actions of their leaders and supporters. In terms of civil disobedience, however, this question subsumes a number of others: Are certain

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tactics of opposition likely to contribute to a termination of an unjust and immoral war? Are they persuasive tactics? Are they likely to legitimate lesser forms of opposition and so enhance the anti-war movement as a whole, or will they turn people from the movement and thereby contribute to the prosecution of the war? Assuming that one could determine the relations between disobedient citizens and all those others who oppose the war less strenuously or more circumspectly, it might develop that the two groups could not coexist within a single unified movement (not that they necessarily must), and that the commitments of the smaller group would have to be relinquished to the interests of building the largest possible movement against the war. Although it is unlikely that such a determination could be made with any precision, the immediate implications for the vanguard of guerrillas who led the charge at the Pentagon and in the streets of Oakland are fairly clear: if they wish to do more than create a tiny group of the heroic, the tested and the martyred, their style of work will not suffice. As Irving Howe has put it:

> If one wants to build a movement in which not everyone need give "the whole of their lives" [*read "do their own thing"*], then the suspicion and hostility such an outlook is bound to engender toward the somewhat less active and somewhat less committed can only be damaging. For in effect, if not in intent, it is a strategy of exclusion, leaving no place for anyone but the vanguard of the scarred.

FREE PRESS & FANCY PACKAGES

A. Q. MOWBRAY

Mr. Mowbray is the author of The Thumb on the Scale or The Supermarket Shell Game *(J. B. Lippincott).*

> *Freedom of the press is guaranteed only to those who own one.*—A. J. Liebling

Although much lip service is paid in this country to the principle of an informed electorate, it seems clear that to an unhealthy degree the electorate depends for its information upon those who have a vested interest in influencing their judgments.

Any proposed legislation that promises to benefit the consumer by limiting the freedom of action of a powerful segment of industry is doomed unless it can attract widespread public support, but the process of developing this support is often long and tedious. Typically, a rising tide of complaints culminates in Congressional hearings to air the abuses. Exposure of the problem in the hearings serves the dual purpose of clarifying the need for legislation and broadcasting the issue to the people, through press reports and accompanying editorial comment. This dialogue among the people, the press and the Congress creates the substance of public awareness upon which demand for legislation must rest.

The success of this democratic procedure is assured only if the channels of communication are open. During the recent five-year struggle to enact a truth in packaging law, the channels of communication were blocked, the consumer did not know what was happening, and the bill finally emerged as the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act of 1966, a highly ineffective piece of legislation that promises little in the way of reform.

The opening round of packaging hearings, in 1961, made lively copy. Newspapers reported that Senate witnesses had called the consumer a "sucker"; columnists lambasted the food manufacturers. Television screens showed Sen. Philip A. Hart (D., Mich.), sponsor of the packaging bill, holding up deceptive packages for all the nation to see. But before the mass-circulation magazines could comment, the food manufacturers collected their wits and retaliated. Paul S. Willis, then president of Grocery Manufacturers of America, the trade association for the $80-billion-per-year food industry, summoned the publishers of sixteen national magazines to "discuss with them the facts of life covering advertising-media relationships." As Mr. Willis later told it, "We suggested to the publishers that the day was here when their editorial department and business department might better understand their interdependency relationships as they affect the operating results of their company; and as their operations may affect the advertiser—their bread and butter."

Now, a persistent and dearly cherished tenet of the mass-circulation publications is that editorial policy is independent of advertising pressure. Here was a naked test of whether that separation was truth or myth. Mr. Willis "invited" the publishers "to consider publishing some favorable articles about the food industry instead of only singling out isolated cases of criticism." He pointed out that "as the readers turn the pages and come across an interesting article, they will react more favorably to the advertisement and be more inclined to purchase the product."

Some months later, Mr. Willis seemed pleased with the results of his persuasion. "We can point with pride," he said, "to some of the things which have happened since our visit." He then enumerated recent articles in eight magazines that were favorable to the food industry. "The articles," he pointed out, "will surely help to create a better understanding of the industry and a favorable public attitude toward it."

Two of the magazines whose publishers had met with Willis had earlier commissioned writers to prepare articles on the Hart bill. Possibly as a result of the Willis interview, these articles were never printed. While gathering material for my book on truth in packaging and the fate of the Hart bill, I wrote to nine of the leading mass-

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circulation magazines, asking them what they had published on the bill or on the problems that it dealt with. The replies indicated that, during the five years that the Hart bill languished in Congress, these magazines had told their readers nothing about this legislation that could have major implications for the prices paid in the supermarket. A search of *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* bore this out.

The January 26, 1965, issue of *Look* magazine contained an article titled "Let's Keep Politics Out of the Pantry," by Charles G. Mortimer, chairman of General Foods Corporation and one of the most implacable foes of truth in packaging. After charging that some vote-conscious politicians, through "headline-making innuendoes" and "emotion-charged appeals," were endangering the "machinery of free competition" by an intrusion where government did not belong, Mr. Mortimer got down to cases: "By making all packages 'look-alikes' on the shelf," he wrote, "restrictive legislation would stifle innovation and put a halter on an indispensable form of competition: the freedom to bring out packages which are easy to open, easy to close, easy to handle, easy to store." Mr. Mortimer warned his readers that "we are faced with the grim prospect of having Government officials tell the consumer what product she can buy and what kind of package she can buy it in."

This flagrant misrepresentation of his bill angered Senator Hart, who asked publisher Gardner Cowles for the opportunity to present his side of the case in the pages of *Look*. The publisher replied: "I will be interested to see how much attention the general public pays to the subject in the next several months"—the implication being that any decision to publish the Senator's rebuttal must be founded on the sound editorial basis of high reader interest. Mr. Cowles's estimate of reader interest was revealed by the fact that *Look* bought full-page advertisements in other magazines, including trade journals in the food industry, to trumpet its publication of "this compelling article." Senator Hart was never given the opportunity he requested.

Macpherson, Toronto Star

Esther Peterson, then special assistant to President Johnson for consumer affairs, also wrote to *Look* as a result of the Mortimer article, offering to prepare a rebuttal. Robert Meskill, assistant managing editor, replied: "We do not plan to hold a 'debate' on this subject, but we appreciate your offering to engage in one."

At about the time of Willis' plain talk to the publishers, Senator Hart had sent background material on his bill to twenty-one magazines, hoping to stimulate articles or some editorial comment. These included twelve magazines in the grocery field and nine general circulation magazines. No articles resulted. One editor replied, "I think the bill is certainly needed but I doubt whether we can mention it editorially."

Thus did the magazine publishers and editors knuckle under to the pressure from their advertisers.

With the publishers brought to heel, Willis turned his attention to the television industry, the occasion being a speech he delivered at the eighth annual meeting of the Television Bureau of Advertising, in the Starlight Roof of the Waldorf-Astoria, on November 16, 1962, less than four months before the 1963 hearings on the packaging bill were to open.

In proud and loving detail, Willis told the television men the story of his success with the magazine men, continuing with:

> I wish I could say similar nice things about the relationship of our advertisers with television. Even though the networks receive about 65 per cent of their advertising revenue from GMA members, there is lots to be desired as it applies to our relationship with their top management. We are not aware of any great amount of cooperation which television has extended to us in passing along interesting, favorable information to the public, information such as appeared in the magazine articles. The newspapers throughout the United States publish a great deal of information relating to food prices, food supplies, nutrition, and so on.
>
> In contrast with these favorable items, we have seen some television newscasts where they seemingly took great delight in bellowing out stories that were critical of this industry.

Why should this be necessary, Willis asked, when there were so many nice things that television could say about the food industry, its greatest source of advertising revenue? "There is plenty of interesting material available about this industry for radio/TV use, and broadcasting such information should create a better public attitude, the advertising would be more effective, and the advertiser would get more for his advertising dollar. It is something," he concluded, with all the subtlety of a pointed shotgun, "to think over."

Apparently, the television men thought it over. During the hearings held the following year, the first hearings on the bill itself, truth in packaging was mentioned on only two television shows. Further, Senator Hart's scheduled appearances on several programs were canceled. "I was told the advertisers had objected," the Senator explained.

In short, during the five-year struggle to pass a

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packaging bill, there was a near blackout of information on the issues in the mass media of communication. Thus it was probably true, as some opponents of the bill claimed, that the clamor of the general public for passage of the bill was notable by its absence. The voice of the food industry was strong and unequivocal; the voice of the consumer was weak and confused. The weakness and confusion stemmed from a lack of hard information on which to base a judgment. The people had not been told.

The people had not been told, for example, about "packaging to price," economically the most harmful of the deceptive practices that infest the shelves of the supermarket. Packaging to price is the technique whereby the food manfacturer, faced with rising costs, elects to decrease the contents of his packages rather than to increase the price. This practice works to the housewife's disadvantage in two ways:

First, because the decrease in contents is often accompanied by a package redesign, the housewife is often unaware that any reduction in contents has occurred, and the price is increased without her knowledge. For example, a 1-pound (16-ounce) box of breakfast cereal might be redesigned so that the box becomes higher, wider, and thinner, and contains only 14½ ounces at the same price. In this way, the manufacturer manipulates a 10 per cent price rise that is undetected by all but the most wary shopper.

Second, the net contents of packages are reduced to quantities that no longer have any rational relationship to our system of measurement. The simple pound and quart disappear from the shelves, to be replaced by packages containing such irrational quantities as 7½ ounces, 2 pounds 5½ ounces, 1 pint 14 ounces, and so on. The great advantage of this non-system, from the standpoint of the food manufacturer, is that the shopper finds it very difficult to compare the price per ounce, per pound, or per pint of different brands or, indeed, of different sizes of the same brand.

In the bill that Senator Hart introduced in 1961, the Food and Drug Administration and the Federal Trade Commission would have been given the authority to issue regulations to standardize the net contents of those packages in which the packaging-to-price disease had resulted in chaos. As the law finally emerged from Congress five years later, the food industry is given the opportunity to clean its own house on a voluntary basis, under the aegis of the Department of Commerce. Anyone reading the thousands of pages of testimony offered by representatives of the food industry and noting their unanimous, uncompromising, unremitting hostility to any packaging legislation would entertain small hope for the success of the voluntary approach.

The Fair Packaging and Labeling Act, totally rewritten to satisfy the objections of the powerful lobbyists for the food industry, was finally signed by President Johnson in November, 1966. In view of the poor performance of the press and the broadcasting industry during its protracted passage through Congress, it may be of some interest to note the reception accorded my book on the bill, which was published the following October.

I spent the last two weeks in October on a publicity tour of Pittsburgh, Washington, New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Chicago. During those visits only two newspapers expressed any desire to talk with me about the book, and one of them canceled our appointment on the day of the interview. The other interview did take place, with the food editor for a big-city daily, who said, half jokingly, that her copy was not subject to anyone's review, and therefore it was sure to make the first edition, but she could give no guarantee about subsequent editions.

Of the six cities visited, reviews have appeared in newspapers in Boston, Washington and Philadelphia (where I live). *Newsday* published a chapter of the book in its October 21 issue.

Perhaps this limited notice in the press is all one could ask for a first book by an unknown author, even though the message in the book impinges directly on the purse of every food shopper in the nation. This reticence on the part of the press, however, was in sharp contrast to the uninhibited enthusiasm of radio and television producers.

Much to my surprise, the producers of interview and "talk" shows, which seem to be proliferating in the broadcasting industry, unhesitatingly welcomed me at every stop on the tour. During the two weeks, I was invited to appear on twenty-two shows in the six cities. Time after time, in the lobbies of the broadcasting studios, I saw proud displays in glass-enclosed cases of the products of the sponsors, many of them food packages of the very kind I was condemning in my book. How, I asked the producers, could they get away with it? The answer was always the same. "We couldn't care less about that," they said. "We thrive on controversy. That's what makes our show a success."

As I walked into one studio, a frantic bit of last-minute scrambling was under way to rearrange some of the segments that were to make up the half-hour program. I was told by the producer that someone had just noticed that there had been a commercial for a packaged food product just two minutes away from my slot in the program. Some readjustment had been ordered to insert a little more time between our conflicting messages. "Theoretically, we're completely independent of this kind of thing," the producer said, "but in practice we must be a little careful." I was totally disinclined to criticize his caution: it appeared to me commendable that I was there at all.

As more and more newspapers give up the ghost, and the power of the press becomes concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, it is heartening to find an increasing number of television and radio shows such as *Contact* in Boston, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, the *Tom Duggan Show* and *Kup's Show* in Chicago, *Capital Tie Line* and *Panorama* in Washington, *Night Talk* and the *Murray Burnett Show* in Philadelphia, and others. The producers of many of these shows are exhibiting a degree of imagination and courage that the newspapers might well emulate, to their increased good health. It appears that islands of civilization may be forming in the vast wasteland, and that the much maligned broadcasters may be our best hope for real communication in the future.

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THE MINORITY ON THE BORDER

Cabinet Meeting in El Paso

PHILIP DARRAUGH ORTEGO

Mr. Ortego, who teaches English at New Mexico State University, is completing a historical novel of the Mexican revolution.

El Paso, Tex.

To get to Juarez, Mexico, you must pass over the littered, tenement streets of El Paso. For most "Anglos" it is a transit zone through which they hurry in their cars, but for the Mexican-American who lives there, it is home; and for the immigrant or itinerant Mexican who crosses the border legally or illegally, it is a place of refuge in the flight to opportunity. There is a certain security about south El Paso: the people there are all alike and all speak the same language. It produces a way of life; days give way to years, and aspirations are transferred to children.

Hundreds of such areas exist along the 1,500-mile Mexican-American border from the Pacific Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico. Many Mexican-Americans argue that the whole southwestern United States was a region of Hispanic influence long before the Anglo set foot on Plymouth Rock, but historical circumstance relegated the Mexicans who came with the conquered and bartered land to a subservient position not quite analagous to that of the Negro in the South after the Civil War. As the Anglos settled and populated the Southwest, the communities divided themselves into American and Mexican zones. The light-skinned Spaniard moved freely in the Anglo community, where the brown-skinned Mexican had difficulties and the dark-skinned "Indio" could not enter at all. But through the years the Mexican zones have grown larger and larger, threatening the stability of the Anglo half of the communities. In Crystal City, Tex., for example, the Mexican-Americans actually gained control of the city government for a time, though not without a struggle, and not without a bitter aftermath. Today, the social consciousness of the Mexican-American is growing in large measure from the example set up by the Negro revolution. Emboldened, Mexican-American leaders have been pressing the President with demands for the social and economic improvement of the Mexican-American. The children of the zones are now men, pushing at the boundaries, threatening to break through.

To meet the "threat," President Johnson created the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs, and appointed Vincente T. Ximenes, a New Mexican with an impressive public record, as its commissioner. At the same time, he created a Cabinet Committee on Mexican Americans, composed of Secretary Wirtz (Labor), Secretary Gardner (Education), Secretary Freeman (Agriculture), Secretary Weaver (Housing and Urban Development) and Director Shriver of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Ximenes was appointed chairman of this committee. At the installation of Ximenes as commissioner of the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs, the President also announced his appointment to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. That was in June.

On October 26-28, the Cabinet committee hearings on Mexican-American Affairs were held in El Paso, Tex., amid much fanfare that derived from the highly publicized meeting between President Johnson and President Diaz Ordaz of Mexico on Saturday, October 28, as the concluding act in the Chamizal land transfer. Mr. Ximenes arrived in El Paso on Wednesday and was greeted by State Rep. Raul Muniz. The next day, the commissioner released the following statement to the press:

> President Johnson has sent us here to listen to the voice of the Mexican American . . . and to report back to him specific recommendations to improve the quality of life for the five million Spanish surnamed Americans in the United States.
>
> The President has recognized the urgency of this mission by naming four members of his Cabinet and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs. Vice President Humphrey is also honoring us with his presence.
>
> We are presented with a glowing opportunity at the highest level to act now on the problems besetting the Mexican American community. At the hearings we will be conducting, we will be looking for solid workable solutions to those problems—not pat recipes to be filed away and forgotten.
>
> Speaking for my distinguished colleagues on the Committee, I am confident that we will find the solutions, and that the full resources of the Johnson Administration will be available to translate them into action.

But dissident voices were already mumbling that the whole "schmeer" was a political concoction to win over the second largest minority group in the United States for the Democrats in 1968. Francisca Flores in her *Carta Editorial* (October 24), published in Los Angeles, denounced the fifty invited speakers at the hearings as "professionals and/or bureaucrats, whose positions on the issues they are to speak on are already well known to everyone and especially available to the administration agencies if they would only bother to ask for it." This was the general feeling of the "uninvited delegates" from California, representing MAPA, the Mexican-American Political Association led by Rodolfo ("Corky") Gonzales, whose board of directors voted 58 to 5 to boycott the hearings. The Californians had allies in the followers of Reies Lopez Tijerina, the firebrand leader of the Alianza de Pueblos Libres of northern New Mexico, and in the followers of Cesar Chavez, leader of the National Farm Workers. The only "substantial" group in El Paso itself to boycott the hearings was the South El Paso Federation of Spanish Speaking People. Most of the grumbling had

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to do less with the selection of the speakers than with the fact that Gonzales, Chavez and Tijerina had not been invited to speak—it was thought because they represented the most militant Mexican groups in the five southwestern states of California, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas. At the reception held the evening of registration day, most of the "delegates" were agreeing with Francisca Flores that the fifty speakers and 1,000 invited participants were perhaps "a captive audience, invited to listen but not to speak." Quite the opposite of Commissioner Ximenes' public statement.

Many Mexican-American leaders had hoped for a White House conference on Mexican-American problems, similar to the White House conference on Negro problems. When the President announced, instead, that a Cabinet committee would hold hearings on Mexican-American affairs in El Paso, some of these Mexican-American leaders accused the Administration of bad faith. And when the list of speakers and participants was made public, the protests became cries of anger and resentment. It was sprinkled generously with such names as Governor Reagan; Gunther R. Lessing, president of Disney Foundation; Charles Bannan, president of Western Gear Corporation; Lee S. Bickmore, president of National Biscuit Company; Henry Ford II, chairman of the board of the Ford Motor Company, et al. The absence of Chavez and Tijerina was held equivalent to considering the Negro problem without consulting Martin Luther King, Jr., or Roy Wilkins.

Commissioner Ximenes is an ample and affable man with a quick and ready smile; the uninitiated Anglo might say there is the charm of the Latin about him. With him in the reception line of the opening formalities were Dr. Mike Hernandez of Austin, Tex., field representative for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and other lesser dignitaries. Out in the street in front of the Plaza Hotel various Mexican-American groups were already picketing. The day before, Mike Hernandez, who works like a diplomat but looks more like a football player, had met with some of the leaders of the dissident groups who were still clamoring for representation at the hearings. A spokesman for one of the dissenting groups commented: "If we will not be allowed to speak we will hold our own conference with true Mexican-American representation," threatening to convene a rump meeting in San Jacinto Plaza, if necessary. The most vocal of the excluded groups, MAYA, the Mexican-American Youth Association, raised the possibility of drastic action if their views were not heard at the hearings.

However, most of the delegates to the hearings dismissed the possibility of violence. They reasoned that while the hearings might be political in intent, and whereas the participants may have been largely hand picked, the occasion itself was nevertheless serving to focus on the Mexican-American problem. And in this context, they argued, Tijerina's presence in El Paso was an asset rather than a liability. The fact of the matter is that while there are those who view Tijerina as another Stokely Carmichael or Rap Brown, many of the delegates were in sympathy with his cause.

Dr. Clark S. Knowlton, head of the Sociology Department at the University of Texas, El Paso, points out, however, that the Tijerina-Carmichael parallel may grow if the Anglos don't take steps to settle the land claims in northern New Mexico. Professor Knowlton points out that failure of the Anglos to settle the land grant claims could very well be the rallying crisis about which the Mexican-Americans would unite. At the moment, the weakness of the Mexican-Americans is that they are splintered into groups and factions pulling against one another. Attempts to form a functional political coalition have fizzled for the same reasons that most coalitions fizzle. New Mexico groups resented that El Paso was picked as the site of the hearings, and the California groups and San Antonio groups felt similarly slighted. Each locality believes that its area is the focus of the problem.

To most Anglos, Tijerina's struggle may seem remote from the current problems of the Mexican-Americans, but Knowlton explains that "the cause of poverty in northern New Mexico is the land loss of the Spanish-Americans," who have become culturally isolated as a consequence. And this land loss, Knowlton continues, is "how they measure Anglo-American civilization." Certainly, the history of the American acquisition of this part of the United States is telling evidence about the nature of the southwestern social structure. Knowlton contends that there is a "tortilla curtain" between the Anglo-American and the Mexican-American that prevents fruitful inter-ethnic progress. The "tortilla curtain," like the "iron curtain," can breed only inter-ethnic conflict and hostility.

There was an unmistakable political tremor at the reception. While Gonzales, Chavez and Tijerina were all being extolled—more in Spanish than in English— the name of "Sal" Ramirez seemed to come up most often in conversations seeking to name the "real leader" of the Mexican-Americans at the hearings. Salvador Ramirez is the executive director of the El Paso Boys' Club. He's a short, stocky man of 34 who pulled himself up out of the south El Paso streets, served a hitch in the Marines, got a B.A. from the University of Texas at El Paso, and was named Outstanding Young Man of 1967 in El Paso. Some Anglos contend that Ramirez seems to be the best bet for a Mexican-American leader. He is liked by both sides, but this can be a liability, for some of the more militant Mexican-Americans interpret this popularity as a sign of accommodation with the Anglo community.

Appropriately, the theme of the Cabinet-level hearings was "A New Focus on Opportunity." At the plenary meeting, held in Magoffin Auditorium at the University of Texas at El Paso, Vice President Humphrey zeroed in on the theme with such skill as to suggest that perhaps some Mexican-American had written the speech for him. The Vice President reinforced the slogans in pamphlets that had been issued to the participants of the hearings. The pamphlets stressed that the Mexican-American "was an American long before this land became the United States," and Humphrey admitted that they had been here long before the Humphreys had ever thought of emigrating from Norway. More Mexican-Americans have more medals than any other group, Humphrey told them. Of

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course, that is what the 1,000-odd delegates wanted to hear. And in a rhetoric that has become the hallmark of the Johnson Administration the Vice President poured out aphorism after aphorism about democracy and opportunity, commiserating effectively with *la raza*. He told them there was no Russian word for "opportunity," and didn't fail to mention Lincoln, a key word in the rhetoric of poverty and opportunity. The applause was thunderous as the delegates smiled at one another, comforted by the words. Vice President Humphrey concluded with the hope that "today's problems evolve into tomorrow's opportunity."

But "opportunity" is a word in a language with which many Mexican-Americans are still struggling. Most Anglos are quick to point to this linguistic disadvantage as the root of the socio-economic problem of the Mexican-American. In fact, the general feeling among most southwestern Anglos is that the Mexican-American is not very much interested in improving his lot—else he would try to learn English. Smugly, they point to the excellent progress made by some Mexican-Americans who leave learned the English language, and who have become Anglo in all but name. But these Anglo-Mexican-Americans now protest that their Hispanic surnames keep them from the final stage of full participation in national affairs.

While the Vice President was addressing the delegates inside Magoffin Auditorium, pickets from various organizations circled in front of the building, advertising their complaints. Students who had been dismissed from classes for the arrival of the Vice President stood about, crowding the picketers, heckling and jeering them. Only the few inside the auditorium heard the Vice President's words about "bringing the government to the people, instead of bringing the people to the government."

The hearings were spread all over town: Labor and HUD at the Plaza Hotel, HEW and Agriculture at the Paso del Norte Hotel, Economic and Social Development at the Cortez Hotel, and War on Poverty at the El Paso National Bank Building. The program listed the hearings from 1 to 6 P.M., but most of them started late and the speakers used more than their allotted times, so that the session ran into the evening. Each section was monitored by a Mexican-American leader; the plan was to have a speaker deliver his paper, then be questioned by the chairman and/or the monitor, followed by questions from the floor to be answered by the chairman, the monitor, or the speaker. Unfortunately, the Hispanic penchant for oratory overpowered the plan. Thousands of copies of the "papers" had been printed, and more than one delegate wondered about the necessity of having the authors read them aloud, since so many of the speakers spoke slowly and pompously.

Most of the papers dealt with the immediate problems of the Mexican-Americans. Many were superficial in perspective and conclusions, and some were irrational, muddled and illogical, revealing the ignorance and prejudices of the author. Nevertheless, they made their point. The criticism of Anglo society was honest, and the recommendations for improving the status of Mexican-Americans were sincere. But there was also a strong and alien note in the papers that insisted on elevating and maintaining the Hispanic culture on a par with the Anglo-American culture, and on the need for bilingual education. Both are objectionable to the American pattern of cultural fusion. Some sociologists wonder if such schemes would not, in fact, strengthen the very disadvantages the Mexican-Americans are now fighting to eradicate.

That afternoon the dissident groups did hold a rump meeting in south El Paso's Sacred Heart Church; Tijerina was the featured speaker. In Spanish, he denounced the hearings and pressed for more militant action. As a result, several representatives of local dissident groups were invited to air their complaints at the hearings the next day. But not Tijerina. Commissioner Ximenes had washed his hands of Tijerina on the day before the hearings began when he testily cut short a press interview, saying that Tijerina was not his affair, in response to the first and only question.

The hearings on the following morning were cut short by the arrival of Presidents Johnson and Ordaz. Assembling hastily at the Hilton Inn, near the International airport, the delegates were treated to a few minutes of Mr. Johnson's charm. The President introduced United States Sen. Ralph Yarborough who, because of a mix-up, was still back on one of the buses. But when the President introduced Texas Gov. John Connally, the delegation hissed and booed, remembering Connally's attitude toward the Texas migrant farm workers who have been seeking his help from alleged police brutality in south Texas and for his avoidance of a minimum wage law. The rest of the day, El Paso and Juarez celebrated the memorable occasion marking the end of the dispute over the Chamizal land.

But the real problem is not over, and one wonders if the hearings themselves really caught up with it. The socio-economic plight of Mexican-Americans is made even more glaring by the strident progress of Negro Americans. But the same solution cannot be proposed for the two sets of problems. Negroes don't come into this country as the Mexicans do. There is no Negro language to penalize the Negro. There is no Negro country contiguous to the United States across whose border the Negro may travel at will. The daily intercourse across the border is like an umbilicus that keeps the fetus dependent upon the mother. *La patria,* the homeland, is just across the border for the more recently arrived. As one generation moves out of the zone another moves in to take its place.

This then is the real problem of the Mexican-American situation in the United States. For if the Americanization of immigrant groups from overseas countries takes, let us say, one or two generations, the Americanization of Mexican immigrants, if it occurs at all, takes three, four or five generations. And because of the Mexican immigration into high-density Mexican-American zones, there is always a surplus of cheap labor. The newly arrived will work for peanuts, because whatever they earn looks like a "fortune" by comparison to what they were earning back home. And where labor is so abundant wages are correspondingly low. Therefore, competition for whatever work is available is extremely keen and makes any kind of unionizing very difficult. In El Paso alone, hundreds of women daily cross from Juarez, Mexico, to work in El Paso stores, shops, factories and in homes as maids.

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Mexican men cross to work as laborers in construction gangs, gardeners, waiters and busboys. This contributes to the stereotype Anglos have of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans and reinforces the discrimination barriers against hiring Mexican-Americans in other occupations.

Many Mexican-American leaders hope for little from the Cabinet hearings since they feel that the *real* problem was overlooked. They are eagerly awaiting the projected Senate Labor Committee hearings on the effects of cheap Mexican labor on the American labor market along the border. These are projected for some time in January. Again, El Paso will be the host city.

The President of the United States has come and gone. And for one brief moment the south El Paso streets shone in the sun. But now they are littered and rubbled once more, and the Mexican-Americans are waiting, as they have been waiting, to see what will be. What could happen is what Commissioner Ximenes told the Sociology Club at the University of Texas at El Paso: there could be violence in the streets.

Cesar Chavez's Biggest Battle

DOUG ADAIR

Mr. Adair is editor of the Texas edition of El Malcriado: The Voice of the Farm Worker. *He was working in the fields near Delano, Calif., when he was enlisted into Hector Chavez's union movement and moved to Texas.*

The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, led by Cesar Chavez, is fighting for its life this winter, despite the tremendous progress it has made in the last six months. For the first time in history, farm workers won contracts in 1967 without having to go on strike. Almaden Vineyards, Gallo Vineyards and Christian Brothers Vineyards all signed contracts after elections that indicated an overwhelming majority of the workers wanted union representation. The jurisdictional dispute with the Teamsters union has been settled. And the Farm Workers hiring hall dispatched workers this season to harvest more than 10,000 acres of grapes owned by Schenley Industries, Di Giorgio Fruit Company, Goldberg & Company Packers and Perelli-Minetti Vineyards—all companies forced to sign contracts after bitter strikes.

The lowest wage included in the contracts is $1.65 an hour, plus 15c for every box picked (an average worker would thus clear at least $2.10 an hour), and the base pay at most of the contract ranches is $1.80 plus the "incentive" or piece rate. This is a rise from a $1 to $1.20 wage range in the 1965 season, before the strike. The contracts include an additional 5c or 10c an hour contribution by the employer for health insurance, a life insurance program, unemployment insurance, a very strong grievance procedure clause, seniority rights, drinking water and toilets in the fields, rest periods, and a host of other details common to other industries. These are the first contracts farm workers have ever worked under in the continental United States, except for a few short-lived agreements in the 1930s.

With such examples to show the other workers, one might think that organizing would be greatly facilitated. And workers do now realize the benefits of the union. Where they are allowed to vote, they show themselves overwhelmingly pro-union—of the 126 workers at Almaden Vineyards, 119 voted for the union; and 405 Wisconsin cucumber pickers voted *si* to only eight *no* votes in an election won at Libby's by Obreros Unidos, an independent but allied wing of the union. But growers are exempted from the National Labor Relations Act, and they are not required to allow their workers to vote on the question of union representation. They are free to fire workers for union activities, to black-list union members, and use any unfair labor practice that they wish.

Thus the union is usually forced to employ both strike and boycott, to invest its meager resources and the jobs and lives of its members in a bitter struggle for recognition. Strikes have dominated the life of the union. The Delano grape strike, which began against thirty-three Delano-area grape growers, continues against thirty of those growers, with only a few (though admittedly among the largest) under contract. And the melon strike in Texas has won only one minor contract, and no contract against any of the five major growers in Starr County on whom the union is concentrating.

One such struggle is with the grower, Joseph Guimarra, who refused to allow elections when approached by the union and by Governor Reagan's conservative State Conciliation Service. When more than 800 Guimarra workers signed union cards in July, and voted to strike unless management allowed elections or discussed a contract with the workers, Guimarra refused all demands. The "Patron" then began a campaign of harassment and intimidation (and even raised wages) in an effort to break the union.

The members went on strike on August 3, and between 600 and 800 workers, predominantly Mexican-American, as are most members of the union, walked out of the fields. Guimarra had eighty workers at the end of the first week in August, out of a normal work force of more than 800. Two hundred strikers per picket line sealed off his fields.

But by the second week in August, it became apparent that Guimarra would go far to break the strike. After union pressure, the U.S. Department of Immigration made a halfhearted investigation and rounded up some 500 "wetbacks" (illegal aliens) in the Kern County vineyards in less than a week. Guimarra claimed that he had not known he was employing wetbacks illegally. Meanwhile, the federal government showed its traditional cooperation with the growers by allowing Guimarra to employ hundreds of "legal" foreign workers. Though Secretary of

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Labor Wirtz claims that he is opposed to allowing these Mexican "green card" workers to break strikes, the border was wide open for Guimarra. Some estimated that more than half of Guimarra's work force, after the expulsion of the "wetbacks," was made up of "green card workers."

(A "green card" is supposedly a permit for permanent immigration to the United States, but Wirtz has allowed the cards to be used as a loophole to re-establish the outlawed *bracero* program. He approved 8,100 of the new-style *braceros* to harvest the California tomato crop this year, as well as unlimited strikebreakers for the grapes in California and the melons in Texas. "Green carders" often "immigrate" for a ten-hour strike-breaking visit across the Texas border, return home at night, and immigrate again the next day. The union favors liberal immigration laws, but is absolutely opposed to this perversion of the law.)

Guimarra has also recruited heavily in Texas, where farm workers still average under $1 an hour. Guimarra's wages (averaging more than $1.50 an hour) seemed good and the financial pull was stronger on the desperately poor than loyalty to *la raza* (the Spanish term for Mexican-Americans) or the increasing realization of the benefits gained from the union.

Guimarra, who is worth an estimated $25 million and who owns oil wells, a winery, and cotton crops worth $247,000 a year in direct government cash subsidies, averages a $12 million a year crop in fresh table grapes. To beat the boycott which the union has launched against him, he has packed his grapes under more than fifty different labels owned by other growers from the area (any box of table grapes from Delano, Bakersfield, Arvin or Lamont, Calif., is scab unless it has the UFWOC label on it). Such cooperation among the growers was not nearly so close in previous strikes and boycotts. Guimarra has also gotten his neighboring growers to recruit workers and put them to work in Guimarra fields without telling them of the strike. And Guimarra has gotten friendly judges to restrict picketing to one picket every 50 feet. Strikers were not allowed to visit scabs in their homes, hand out leaflets, or even (for a time) use megaphones to speak to scabs deep in the fields.

A local judge in Texas recently outlawed *all* picketing in the melon strike. None of the 100-odd arrests of strikers made by the Texas Rangers and Starr County cops has yet been brought to trial in Texas, and that ties up in bonds huge amounts of badly needed money (bail in Texas is often $500 cash). These factors, coupled with the devastation of hurricane Beulah, which destroyed 70 per cent of the winter harvests in south Texas, have crippled the union's activity there. In Texas it is now a holding operation, working on community organizing, voter registration and the Guimarra boycott, and giving its members whatever services and help it can afford. Arrests have not been so heavy in California as in Texas, due to the nonviolent aspect of the strike and the dismissal of almost all of the cases so far brought to trial here. But the legal restrictions on the strike have been severe.

Finally, just as the union came to grips with the combined effort of Guimarra and the other growers and their allies in the county courts and in the federal government, contributions to the union were drastically cut. The United Auto Workers, a heavy contributor to the farm workers' struggle, began cutting back in anticipation of its own strike. The loss of this assistance, and of support from the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO (an organizing agency run by Walter Reuther and funded in large part through the UAW) have left the union in almost disastrous financial shape. Even after the Ford strike is settled, the UAW will be pinching pennies for a long time to come, to pay off the huge expenses of their own strike. The Organizing Department of the AFL-CIO under William Kircher (Meany's counterpart to the IUD) has offered steady help. But as the union's drive expands on so many fronts, new sources of income are desperately needed.

The result of this financial crisis has been a partial cutback in organizing in other parts of California, Arizona and Texas, and a reduction of the service activities of the union. The Co-Op gas station and Auto Parts Store were delayed, but are at last completed. The Farm Worker Clinic and Pharmacy, offering medicine and health care at free or minimum cost, may have to remain housed in two old house trailers. There are still no foundations for the clinic, which should have been completed this fall.

This loss of momentum by the union, at the very time when it should be expanding, will encourage more vigorous resistance by the growers, and will encourage those already under contract to defy the union when the contracts expire. The farm workers, who have been building one of the most militant and democratic unions in the nation, are thus faced this winter with one of the most serious crises in their short history.

LETTERS *(Continued from page 610)*

statistical information . . . "does not serve to identify any person who is in need of a particular service or who might be considered a prospect for any particular type of business activity" is even harder to swallow than his other assertions. Why does he think those businessmen lay out hard cash for census statistics?

Phil Hirsch

The Nation in Uganda

Far Rockaway, N.Y.

DEAR SIRS: For many years, I have been sending my copies of *The Nation* to the St. Mary's College in Uganda, East Africa. Because of this, I have been corresponding with the assistant headmaster of the school. He has been sending me some very interesting and informative letters. He has now been transferred to a new school. I should like to send my copies to the new school but I do not want to abandon St. Mary's College. Do you know of anyone who would be willing to send their copies to the college? It costs only about a dollar a year for postage. The address is: St. Mary's College, Kisubi, Uganda, East Africa.

Please be kind enough to let me know if you find someone who will do this as, otherwise, I shall continue to send my copies there.

Mrs. Sidney Stenzler

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

The Case of the Private 'I'

FRANK J. DONNER
Mr. Donner is a New York attorney who specializes in constitutional law and civil liberties cases. He is the author of The Un-Americans *(Ballantine).*

Six Congressional investigations since 1960 have made us familiar with electronic eavesdropping, mail covers, computerized dossiers, long-range photography, psychological tests and other instrumentalities of intrusion. Before the current crop of books (many of them heavily dependent upon the testimony in the Congressional hearings) we had offerings on the same subject from Vance Packard (*The Naked Society*), Myron Brenton (*The Privacy Invaders*), Martin Gross (*The Brain Watchers*), Morris L. Ernst (*Privacy: The Right To Be Let Alone*) and Samuel Dash (*The Eavesdroppers*). The returns are all in. What was formerly a matter of suspicion, polemics or partisan advocacy is now objectively established: our privacy is being invaded both by public and private agencies on a vast and unprecedented scale.

The technological revolution has brought frightening dimensions to electronic eavesdropping practices; the physical barriers and distances, which once shielded the privacy of conversation, have been overcome by new, sophisticated gadgetry. And the quality of the intrusions has changed: the old-style wire tap selectively monitored only a single channel of communication, but a properly placed micro-miniaturized bug and microphone can transmit to a snooper all of the communications in a room within its range. Moreover, the traditional assumptions about the conditions which shelter from disclosure other areas of conduct have been shattered almost overnight by miniaturized closed-circuit TV cameras (which with the aid of "optical pipes," can be used to spy from afar on unsuspecting subjects) and by long-range and infrared photography, laser beams and optical scanners which can read mail.

Brown's handbook, a sort of *Kama-Sutra* of electronic intrusion, describes in detail the technical characteristics and relative merits of various kinds of electronic devices. He also assesses the debuggers and speech scramblers that are employed (sometimes by the same technicians who installed the bugs in the first place) to foil the eavesdroppers. For government agencies and corporations that seek to insure the privacy of their conferences, there are floating rooms, plastic tents and lead walls.

THE ELECTRONIC INVASION. *By Robert M. Brown. John F. Rider Publisher. 184 pp. $3.95 paper.*

PRIVACY AND FREEDOM. *By Alan F. Westin. Atheneum Publishers. 487 pp. $10.*

THE INTRUDERS. *By Senator Edward V. Long. Frederick A. Praeger. 230 pp. $5.95.*

SPY GOVERNMENT. *By Omar V. Garrison. Lyle Stuart. 277 pp. $5.95.*

PRIVACY AND BEHAVIORAL RESEARCH. *U. S. Government Printing Office. 30 pp. 15c paper.*

THE LABOR SPY RACKET. *By Leo Huberman. Monthly Review Press. 209 pp. $5.*

THE SPY IN THE CORPORATE STRUCTURE AND THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY. *By Edward Engberg. The World Publishing Co. 247 pp. $5.95.*

ESPIONAGE AND SUBVERSION IN AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY. *By Peter Hamilton. Hutchinson (London). 230 pp. $6.*

Americans have long been conditioned to the marvels of electronics as a means of eavesdropping: by the comics, James Bondery, TV spy serials and space exploration. A mass market is developing both for eavesdropping devices and for de-bugging and scrambling equipment, and Americans are flocking to the supply houses in growing numbers to see (and buy) these new fruits of the good life: transmitters and microphones which are concealable in picture frames, moldings, coat buttons, martini olives and false teeth and (less melodramatically) the telephone, camouflaged voice actuated tape recorders, automatic telephone monitors, directional and spike mikes and audio-stethoscopes.

The present concern for privacy does not, for the most part, seek to outlaw all the devices or the practices which threaten privacy. But even a minimal therapy in the three privacy-invading areas (physical, psychological and data surveillance) would require new legislation, administrative regulation, stricter professional ethics, and a greater sensitivity to privacy by the information gatherers and guardians.

The scope of the problem and proposals for dealing with it are brilliantly explored in Westin's *Privacy and Freedom*. A spacious ocean liner of a book which almost submerges the smaller craft on the same course, it is sponsored by a Special Committee of the New York City Bar Association, and was supported by a Carnegie grant. Meticulously documented and thoroughly researched (there are over 1,100 footnotes and 55 pages of bibliography), this study by a Columbia professor whose disciplines include law and political science, is bound to serve as an important tool in the almost inevitable legislative and judicial struggles to curb threats to privacy in the next decade.

Its most original and illuminating sections comprise five "case studies": the continuing controversy between law-enforcement agencies and civil libertarians over bugging and wire tapping (the author points out that the claim that electronic surveillance is indispensable to crime detection has never been persuasively documented); police and personnel polygraphing—widely attacked as unscientific and banned in a number of states; the debate over psychological testing in which academics, traditionally on the libertarian side of privacy issues, find themselves on the defensive; the controversy which flared in the late fifties over subliminal advertising (Westin sees its rejection as a triumph of "civic containment," but it can also be argued that this spookish phenomenon died because of its ineffectiveness as an advertising medium) and, lastly, the ongoing arguments over proposals for a computerized national data bank. [See "The Punchcard Snoopers" by Phil Hirsch, *The Nation*, October 16.]

Such a center would provide government and private elites with access to the computerized life histories of all Americans: employment, medical history, school record, grades, credit, military service, income tax, psychiatric treatment, organizational affiliation—the categories are endless. The jeopardy in which this electronic monster could place the individual is emphasized by the fact that the mere existence of this processing capability would whet the appetite for the collection of even more data.

Government administrators and many

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social scientists who are moving toward a new information theory to solve problems of service, prediction and control, which a mass society presents, make a strong case for such a center, wooing the doubters with promised curbs on data input and access. But the old *Quis custodiet* problem persists; the stakes are too high to gamble on the good faith of our governors. Imperiled human values tip the beam. In an already highly anomic and depersonalized society, who can chart the social and psychic damage inflicted by a fear that the press of a button can reveal to a stranger that one is an arrestee, divorcé, remarried, childless, a dropout, a health, security, credit or driving risk, emotionally disturbed, a heavy drinker, a non-churchgoer or foreign born? Who can vouch for the selfhood of Computerized Man?

Senator Long's book is a first-rate survey of the testimony adduced before his subcommittee on invasions of privacy. The book and the hearings remind us that Congressional investigating committees, with devoted leadership and an informed staff, can powerfully contribute to the national enlightenment. The hearings of the House subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations under the chairmanship of Rep. Cornelius E. Gallagher have been equally fruitful—particularly in the fields of computer privacy and the use of polygraphy.

Senator Long's recommendations are forthright and courageous, including a ban on all private wire tapping and bugging, and the confinement of law-enforcement eavesdropping on a state and federal level to situations where one of the participants gives consent. In so-called "national security" cases "involving a clear danger" the President would have the authority to order tapping. But information so obtained would not be admissible in court. These views closely parallel the President's proposal on eavesdropping now awaiting hearing before Senator Long's committee.

Omar V. Garrison's *Spy Government* is an account of government surveillance based largely on the disclosures of Congressional committees and earlier books on the subject. A chapter ("Programming Our Youth For Bondage"), deploys in a convincing way the emerging evidence that our youth have been made targets of surveillance by a variety of federal agencies from the Food and Drug Administration to the CIA. While much of this material has also appeared in other media, it is useful to have it assembled in one place. Too much of Garrison's presentation consists of a stringing together of "items" ("A major record company is exploiting the growing interest in privacy invasion among the young people. It has put on sale a fifty-minute recording that eavesdrops on parties at which teenagers went on LSD 'trips' "), divorced from a context necessary to give them meaning. And his chapter on government, "Publicity as Punishment," makes no reference at all to the publicity exposure system of the Congressional anti-subversive committees. It is perhaps even more curious that there is no discussion of the FBI's political informers in a book on spy government.

The conflicts between privacy and behavioral research are sensitively explored by a panel of ten distinguished citizens (many of them officers of colleges and universities) in a report for the Office of Science and Technology. The panel addresses itself to the intrusive character of many "personality inventory" and related psychological tests employed both in school and for personnel screening. The offensive quality of many of these inquiries became a target of the ultra-Right in the late fifties. Today the problem has been more widely recognized. Senator Ervin's bill outlawing privacy-invading tests in the federal establishment has overwhelmingly passed the Senate.

The panel deals more generally with all forms of intrusions by behavioral scientists; there are over 35,000 of them now; 2,100 new Ph.D.s are turned out each year and some 40,000 are now enrolled in studies for advanced degrees. They, together with practitioners in other branches of social science, are steadily escalating the "information explosion." They are voracious producers and consumers of data and have made the American society the most surveyed, interviewed, tested, questionnaired and pulse-taken on the face of the earth.

> A civil society is not a society of complete mutual transparency or visibility. Everyone needs to be allowed to live somewhat in the shade—both rulers and ruled—in order to "keep" what "belongs" to them.
>
> Intrusions on privacy are baneful because they interfere with an individual in his control of what belongs to him. The "social space" around an individual, the recollection of his past, his conversation, his body and its image, all *belong* to him. He does not acquire them and is entitled to possess them by virtue of the charisma which is inherent in his existence as an individual should—as we say nowadays, in his individuality—and which is inherent in his membership in the civil community and his membership in his own society. A society which claims to be both humane and civil is committed to their respect . . . .
>
> *From "Privacy and Power" by Edward Shils*

The panel's report recognizes that privacy is an elusive value which cannot be captured in a formula, analyzed with legal precision, or defined in terms of specific kinds of human activity:

> The usual examples of privacy are too gross to convey fully its nuances and strength. One thinks of the right to turn away the interviewer at the door, to throw away the mailed questionnaire, or to exclude outsiders from a meeting. One thinks of privacy to make love, to reflect in financial success, to express pride in professional achievements, and so on. There are more subtle and personal forms, however. . . . Actually what is private varies for each person and varies from day to day and setting to setting. Indeed the very core of the concept is the right of each individual to determine for himself in each particular setting or compartment of his life how much of his many-faceted beliefs, attitudes, and behavior he chooses to disclose.

The panel acknowledges that tension has developed between privacy and empirical social science research and urges consent as a curb on abuse. But there are admittedly situations in which consent is not feasible, either because the inquiry may involve complex variables which a layman may not understand, or because the validity of the experiment depends on keeping the subject in the dark. Where informed consent is not possible, then the confidentiality of the research records must be preserved and the identity of the subject shielded. The panel points out that there may be conflicts where some degree of privacy invasion is inevitable. How are such conflicts to be resolved? By some process of balancing yet to be worked out. But, the panel insists, even a valid claim to privacy should not prevent socially significant research. "A wise and discriminating society has found, and will continue to find, that many invasions of privacy are tolerable and necessary for the health of the community."

In the end one is left with the uneasy feeling that the gaps between the cognitive passions of the social scientists and the claims of privacy will not be easy to bridge. More than this, there is a serious danger that the community will come to react with resentment and hostility even to valid social science research because so much of it is silly, prying and aimless. ("Just for that you all get off," Jimmy Durante snorted as one too many flies landed on his nose.)

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A classic work on labor espionage is Leo Huberman's *Labor Spy Racket.* Originally published in 1937 to publicize testimony before the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee by employers and labor spy agencies, it is now re-issued by the Monthly Review Press with a postscript on the undercover activities of "labor relations consultants," laid bare in the 1958 McClellan Committee hearings. As Huberman points out, labor espionage has by no means come out of the cold; its new quarry is the industrial "security risk." This justification for surveillance has made the industrial private eye and the corporation "security officer" a permanent fixture in American industrial life.

Mr. Engberg's sparkling book is concerned with industrial espionage and the methods (bugs, broads, booze, bribes) used by corporations to acquire information from competitors that threaten them economically. Engberg is particularly effective in dissecting the forms of intellectual property, from research results and formulas to market surveys, which are the targets of surveillance and theft.

Corporations are not only deeply involved in surveillance and espionage games against competitors but have long depended on these practices both to protect their own property and to check on production. Undercover techniques were classically developed by American corporate enterprise as a response to the challenge of unionism and labor unrest. Labor espionage and infiltration were justified as a check on revolutionary violence against the state. When these practices were discredited, the corporations continued their reliance on surveillance to "audit" employees suspected of theft (the rhetoric of surveillance is loaded with euphemisms of this kind; my own favorite is "cooperate with the FBI" to describe what a political informer does), and they resorted to polygraphy for the same purpose. The huge corporate investment in research, and the ease with which the fruits of research can be delivered to a competitor simply by the resignation of a key technician or scientist, have created a corporate "loyalty crisis" which has led to reliance on privacy-invading techniques (mainly polygraphy and personality testing) to screen employees and job applicants. Another surveillance device in increasing use by corporations is closed-circuit TV, both open and concealed, to supplement supervision in checking on work pace and to substitute for line foremen displaced by automation.

In contrast to the European police system under which investigation, inquisition and law enforcement were consolidated into a centralized national institution closely linked to the exercise of

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power, American police arrangements have been characteristically local and more responsive to democratic controls. The transplanting to the United States of revolutionary ideologies, and the need to contain the growing labor force, presented problems for American business which were beyond the scope and jurisdiction of the local police. This vacuum was filled by independent, privately organized bodies of investigators who borrowed from their official European counterparts techniques of surveillance, impersonation, deception, infiltration, informing and dossier keeping.

"Pinkertonism" enjoyed a semi-official status because of the power of its clients, its reliance on police departments for new cadres, and its availability to perform on behalf of the police services which are forbidden by law in return for immunity from prosecution. The assumptions as well as the techniques of Pinkertonism shaped the functioning of the nativist anti-radical societies which flourished between the wars, and have left a deposit of influence on the contemporary ultra-Right as well as the Congressional anti-subversive committees.

Today this private security industry enjoys revenues in excess of $5 billion annually, is strongly dominated by ex-FBI agents, a haven for former Telephone Company employees and, in the language of Edward Shils, constitutes a "large body of enterprising specialists eagerly offering their services in the infringement of all sorts of privacy for every purpose." And its files are nothing to be sneezed at: the Wackenhut Corporation—the smallest of the "big four" private security agencies—boasts 3 million individual dossiers, and they are increasing at the rate of 10,000 a week.

Of the books under review only Hamilton's is written from the "law and order" position. Hamilton, a former British security officer and once an intelligence aide to General Wedemeyer, is now a "security theoretician" and a consultant to British industry. His book is an exposition of the principles of Pinkertonism adapted to British conditions.

The tenets of Hamilton's "security culture" are Strangelovish indeed. Since large-scale crime weakens the state, crime must be regarded as a form of subversion; ditto for strikes: every major strike is a form of "negative sabotage." Subversion and propaganda are the characteristic weapons of the Russians, but "the West except the CIA seems to prefer economics and public relations." To foil the subversion which takes the form of blunt wage demands and similar outrages, the employer must stimulate humor in the work force ("Humour is highly antipathetic to all forms of subversion, including communism"), encourage and develop artistic gifts among the workers, "and care about his employees in much the same way as did the good squire and his wife for their tenants and workers."

The author projects a Chestertonian restoration of English village and community life to provide "the cohesion lacking in today's society." Here the unifying force consists of security committees which would collect information and insure the availability of "alternative labor" in the event of a strike. Although Hamilton's entire "security culture" is riddled with privacy-invading measures, he assures us that he cherishes privacy, and offers as a particularly offensive example of this evil, gate crashing by unwanted guests at private parties. (An American is tempted to murmur in response: "I never knew this death hath undone so many.")

Hamilton's book is a potent reminder of the extent to which privacy is a hostage to security mongering. For a quarter of a century hot and cold wars have cumulatively deepened anxieties of Americans about the "national security." While the recession of McCarthyism has diminished our overt obsession with this theme, the justification of national security or of an inquiry into "loyalty" has inflicted enormous wounds on privacy, not only in the investigation of public and private job applicants but in the use of federal power to investigate dissenters as an end in

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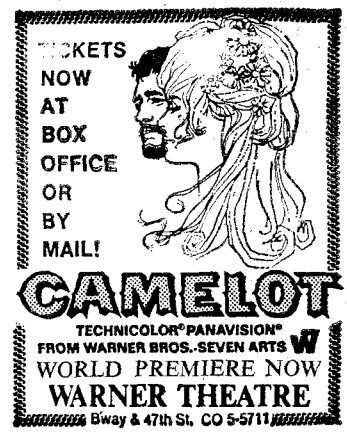
itself. In the claimed pursuit of "political intelligence" or "counter-intelligence," a jurisdiction assumed by Mr. Hoover wholly without authorization, the FBI is now invading the privacy of campus radicals on a wholesale scale. Senator Long's book hints that these illegal practices have remained immune from Congressional scrutiny because they are politically sensitive. But since virtually every proposal for curbing eavesdropping makes an exception of the "national security," some policy-making body other than J. Edgar Hoover's will have to define it.

It surely cannot rationally embrace the photographing of a University of Chicago demonstration against class ranking for draft purposes, eavesdropping on a peace meeting at Oberlin, sending informers into a Portland college campus group or stealing correspondence addressed to the organizer of the National Conference for a New Politics. Nor should a probe of privacy invasion in this area exclude the nongovernmental security narks, 40 per cent of whose income is said to be derived from "loyalty clearance" work.

These books tell us how "they"—the propitiating name for the Eumenides that pursue us—are robbing us of privacy. The favorite model is Orwellian, a manipulative Big Brother. The answers to Big Brotherism are legislative and judicial curbs. Both of these may well emerge within the next few years. The presently proposed legislation may succumb to a skillfully exploited crime-in-the-streets backlash or a "national-security" blitz (now also being prepared in the House for Senator Ervin's bill); but there are good prospects that the Supreme Court will find an overarching right of privacy in the provisions of the First Amendment (free speech and the right to silence), the Fourth Amendment's ban against unreasonable search and seizure, and the due process and protection against self-incrimination provisions of the Fifth Amendment.

But suppose that government snoopers (Big Brother) are effectively curbed. Is that the end of the matter? The Orwellian explanation for what has been done to us cannot account for what we have done to ourselves. There remains another more tormenting model—that of Kafka or Pinter. Our society is rife with voyeurism and with privacy invasion as an end in itself. "They" may be taking privacy from us but we are also giving it away. And even resistance rarely prevails over profit drives.

As in other areas, the key question here is whether the society is so hooked on technology, so eager to permit process to be pushed to the limits of its logic, that it is incapable of making a stand for the human needs of its members. How much longer can we afford the old easy optimism, bred by an overfertile technology, that there is no injury that we can do to ourselves that is beyond repair by more technology?



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The Ultimate Joke

REPORT FROM IRON MOUNTAIN ON THE POSSIBILITY AND DESIRABILITY OF PEACE. *With introductory material by Leonard C. Lewin. The Dial Press. 109 pp. $5.*

DAVID CORT

Mr. Cort's most recent book is The Glossy Rats *(Grosset & Dunlap).*

Iron Mountain is an actual, visible, tangible hollow mountain near Hudson, N.Y., filled with vaults, board rooms and living facilities reserved for very high corporate personnel, in the event of atomic holocaust. It is the quintessence of insurance or paranoia. Here, we are told, a top-level study group examined for several years the Big Question: is eternal peace possible and/or desirable? True, diligent inquiry at Iron Mountain finds no record of any such meetings, and the most reliable spies in the White House have uncovered not the faintest spoor of any such report, ostensibly prepared for the most exalted eyes but suppressed for others. Here it is all revealed.

And yet, if we ask, is this shocking document real, the answer must be yes. The footnotes, with bibliography, sufficiently establish that it is in the real world; it is rooted in familiar reality. This is not a private joke of Leonard Lewin's or of the *Monocle* crowd: it is more probably the joke on all mankind, the intolerable rack for the sense of humor, the ultimate unforgivable joke, God's laugh. Lewin is not Voltaire or Swift, but he may have found a more terrible joke: war is indispensable to a successful civilized society.

He, or the study group, started out with such hardhearted assumptions as that medical advances create more problems than they solve, some poverty may be desirable, armies are social welfare institutions, a sort of slavery may be necessary, and that by "peace" is meant total and general and eternal disarmament.

This is, of course, "big thinking" and objectionable to humanists, but if we must estimate amounts of air pollution, clean water requirements, future duck populations, LSD mutations, or just take a census, what is so wrong about discussing the whole society in the same objective terms?

First, it was discovered that "world war industry" represents a tenth of the world economy; and that war is not merely an instrument of a national society but the essence of the nation, to which all other institutions must be subordinate. "The capacity of a nation to make war expresses the greatest social power it can exercise." Most major technological advances have been introduced by war. Civilian standards of living rose during World War II in the United States. With the elimination of war, the nation-state will wither away. All this has a good content of acceptable truth.

Now the study group looks for a suitable substitute for war. This must impose a credible threat to life. It must be wasteful, to the extent of 10 per cent of the economy. (When this rule has been violated, the economy has repeatedly collapsed.) War on poverty is no substitute because it would not cost enough.

Without war, art forms would lose their sense of conflict and enter an artless, value-free aesthetic, now prefigured in the current "art without content." The implication is that without conflict, there are no values, no beauty, no art.

The seriousness of this study is specially revealed in the footnotes, such as "Values were assigned to the known and unknown in each parameter, tested against data from earlier chronologies, and modified heuristically until predictable correlations reached a useful level of accuracy."

Ultimately the study concludes that

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"the price of peace is too high." But our government must prepare for the possibility of peace "because it may be thrust on us in some form whether we are ready for it or not."

In case of war, we must "adjust the planning of casualty rates" in accord with population pressures.

Except for such few indiscretions as the two preceding sentences, *Report from Iron Mountain* is obviously not satire. It is a modest understatement of the more unappealing facts of life. Its gentle overtures invite a little further development, after we have all agreed that we must try to outlaw atomic war; obviously there's nothing we can do to stop ordinary war, which can begin tonight on any street corner.

An extension of the study group's conclusion might begin: One of the facts of life, from the moment of birth, is death, nor is this fact noticeably embarrassed by the horror of the good-hearted. People say (insincerely) that they know they must die; but institutions never intend to die. Without death, we would have today the Macedonian, Roman, Carolingian, Holy Roman, Austro-Hungarian, and British Empires piled on top of one another in inoperable bedlam. No corporation would ever go bankrupt. No fashion would become obsolete. Nobody would have to change his mind. All the bad artists would spring to life again, and the great ones would fade into the crowd. If we could guarantee eternal peace, that is, eternal life, to the existing 3 billion people now alive, we would also have to impose total death on all new life. With the end of both death and birth, all life would inexorably grind to a halt.

Any such prospect is a chimera, for the unarguable reason that this universe was not created by a commission of kindly liberals. The actual, certifiable creation is at constant war with man: cold, rain, snow, lightning, heat, insects, bacteria, hurricane, flood, earthquake, starvation, drought, plague, etc. Competition, sometimes implemented in war, is simply part of mankind's fairly desperate war to survive in difficult environments, often aggravated by the neighbors who are also trying to survive. When winter comes, government by fools must die. The next Ice Age, which is inevitable, will end a lot of nonsense, at least in the present temperate zone.

Certainly the glorification of death is despicable. No respectable philosopher has attempted it, though several have been misread as doing so. On the other hand, nearly all philosophers have asked mankind to include death in the definition of life.

Open publication of Iron Mountain's sort of big-picture thinking is generally taboo because of a theory that the mob (the subject of the discussion) can't stand hearing about it. But the mob is usually very interested in these extrapolations of its future. It would really like to know how it is going to make out, or at least how somebody figures it is going to make out. For the mob has its own ideas on how it intends to make out. I know: I'm a member of it.

A SOUND FROM THE EARTH

Somewhere, I think in Dakota,
they found the leg bones—just the
big leg bones—of several hundred
buffalo, in a gravel pit.

Near there, a hole in a cliff
has been hollowed so that
the prevailing wind of autumn
thrums a note so low and persistent
that bowls of water placed in that
cave will tremble to foam.

The grandfather of Crazy Horse
lived there, they say, at the last,
and his voice like the thrum of the hills
made winter come as he sang, "Boy,
where was your buffalo medicine?
I say you were not brave enough, Boy.
I say Crazy Horse was too cautious."

Then the sound he cried out for his grandson
made that thin Agency soup that they
put before him tremble. The whole
earthen bowl churned into foam.

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MEMOIRS, 1925-1950. *By George F. Kennan. Atlantic-Little, Brown. 583 pp. $10.*

ROBERT G. HAZO

Mr. Hazo is senior editor of Encyclopaedia Britannica. He is the author of The Idea of Love *(Praeger).*

No man made a greater effort than George F. Kennan to formulate, influence and understand United States foreign policy in the second quarter of the 20th century. His *Memoirs* are a detailed record of that attempt. Judging from them no one officially involved experienced more frustration, nor had a record of a greater gap between effort and effect. With a few well-publicized exceptions (which the author hints might have come about without his advocacy), this is a catalogue of ignored recommendations, abandoned initiatives, and continual failures with which the recent history of American diplomacy is so amply littered. Except for Kennan's self-portrait

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of dignified, intelligent and imaginative persistence in the face of massive inertia, this book is, in no sense, an edifying document. It should, however, not only be read but carefully studied by anyone who still believes that a comprehending, sophisticated and flexible foreign policy can emerge through the existing institutions of the United States Government.

This observation is not based on any overall agreement with the substance of Kennan's advocacies; it is fully justified solely on the presumably accurate account of the manner in which his recommendations were received and considered. For most of what he wrote—even in the high phase of his influence under Marshall and Acheson—was not read by anyone of consequence. Even he emphasizes that the success of his long communication from Moscow, which decisively altered his career and catapulted him into the stratosphere of the State Department, was largely a matter of accidental timing and bureaucratic happenstance.

One anticipates that distillations from experiences such as this, however melancholy the recollections, will be rare treasures. Accordingly, I received this book with great expectations. I have been a Kennan fan for a long time and learned much from his earlier works. This one looked like the grand summation. After all, Kennan is an extraordinary and extraordinarily able man, one of the rare figures who survived the rapid transition from the old to the new diplomacy, who is an authentic generalist and intellectual *engagé*, whose broad sensitivities continually inform his persistent, gnarled intelligence, whose allegiance is to realistic principles rather than flamboyant causes and who, almost alone in our diplomatic establishment, held that a breach of proprieties was as consequential as a failure to achieve an objective.

The great expectations were not fulfilled. This book suffers by comparison with the earlier, shorter treatises largely because of a lack of identity. Kennan calls it an "intellectual biography." Actually it is a mixture of intimate reminiscences and high diplomatic history that seldom happily mesh; the political light is frequently even dissipated by the, at best, tangentially relevant personal foliage. (In an attempt to impose a unity that just isn't there, Kennan tells us, for example, that an awkward experience with a drunken Congressman in the Kremlin confirmed him in his lack of enthusiasm for people-to-people contacts in international relations.) It should also be noted that, though the style is invariably felicitous, the whole is simply overwritten.

Worst of all, perhaps, is that Kennan has fallen prey to the bugaboo of self-justification. The best case in point is the association of his name with the policy of containment following World War II. Only his bitterness about the American occupation policy and behavior in Germany is matched by his rancor because of the positions attributed to him as a result of the famous X article. Little in his whole tour of duty caused him more anguish. He does concede that some of the misunderstanding arose from confusions (he intended a localized and temporary containment), ambiguities (the containment was to be political, not military) and egregious omissions which he calls mysterious or inexplicable. As the article is not reprinted in the appendices, I dug it up in a library and reread it carefully.

Leaving aside the postwar mood (which certainly made for misunderstanding), I must say that the thrust and language is such that the popular reaction to what was written—whatever may have been intended—is not inaccurate. It is true that Kennan advocated a tactic not a doctrine. But it is also true that it is inexcusable for a highly articulate diplomat, writing on a very sensitive subject for a major political organ, not to make himself abundantly clear. If Kennan was misinterpreted it was mainly because he allowed himself to be uncharacteristically fuzzy.

In this work Kennan is not at all unclear about two of his old and favorite themes. One is his implacable opposition to the blight of legalism in American diplomacy and the universalist tone it lends to policy statements. The "love for pretentious generality" which Kennan takes to be an integral part of the legal mind is considered by him to have created as much mischief as any other factor in foreign affairs. He scores again and again what he calls "the congenital American aversion to regional approaches and the yearning for universal ones" and the reluctance to take "specific decisions on specific problems" instead of going off on theoretical binges. Though he favored our aid to Greece under the Truman Doctrine, the language of the statement infuriated him. Instead of saying that we were coming to the aid of Greece under certain conditions, Truman proclaimed a universal obligation to resist Communist encroachment everywhere that, if taken as binding, could draw us into situations that were not "in our interests or within our means." In Kennan's view this sweeping tendency leads to measureless dangers. As a man who is sensitive to style he also deplores it because it debases public utterances and produces the "arid legalism and semantic pretentiousness that so often passes . . . for statesmanship."

The hostility to this approach should not be interpreted as a disdain for political theory; few men love it more than Kennan. It is a singular opposition to the use of fatuous slogans and formulas to cover the complex and changing realities with which diplomats must deal. Kennan is, after all, a practical man and is saying only that the sophistication of approach in international relations must match the character of the reality. Above all he insists that international life is something organic, not mechanical, and that the diplomat is an artist, not a legal technician.

Accordingly he has little enthusiasm for the United Nations, the legal basis of which, he claims, tends to favor those who benefit from the *status quo* and disadvantage those who want change. Since law is too rigid to accommodate organic change, the diplomat should not be encumbered by many rules and precedents but allowed a generous amount of discretion. One should recall, however, that this is a long-standing theme in Kennan's work, and be humbled that a powerful mind has been obliged to argue so long a time for the self-evident.

Kennan's second hobbyhorse is his near worship for the professional and his disdain for the amateur. The mark of the amateur is a fatal and unforgiv-

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able tendency to play to the gallery instead of coming to grips with a situation directly and dispassionately. The former results only in cheap verbal victories or "histrionic futility." The "striking of attitudes before the mirror of domestic public opinion" is deplored as a sign of the self-consciousness and introversion that frequently have plagued American diplomacy. As Kennan argues elsewhere, the only remedy for ineffectual posing is a more extensive use of the principle of professionalism in foreign affairs. Presumably this would ameliorate some of the effects of the "vast, turgid, self-centered and highly emotional process of decision making" in Washington.

Kennan is undoubtedly correct about the unfortunate results of the diplomat's taking on the role of an actor. But there is something ingenuous about his criticism. American foreign policy is set, after all, by national administrations that must seek and retain the approval of the people. The State Department is unavoidably influenced by and, sooner or later, subject to this check. If the effects of the cruder forms of public opinion or sentiment are pernicious in delicate international dealings (and with the reminder of Tocqueville's claim that the people rule in America as God does in the universe), one is forced to ask what Kennan expected. At one of the few points where he does not skirt the margins of the genuinely controversial, Kennan raises and gives his answer to the fundamental question behind most of his specific indictments. He asks "whether a government so constituted should deceive itself into believing that it is capable of conducting a mature, consistent and discriminating foreign policy. Increasingly, with the years, my answer would tend to be in the negative." Obviously, there was a time when Kennan expected much more.

THEATRE

HAROLD CLURMAN

I regret not having seen Tyrone Guthrie's staging of *The House of Atreus* because from all reports it was a meaningful as well as an exciting experience. I say this because I have yet to see the production of a Greek tragedy in English which was not a little absurd. On two occasions—one of them at Epidaurus—I benefited by the pathos of distance: ignorance of the language in which the plays were spoken and the distance caused by the great space separating me from the stage.

Despite the disparateness of the various translations, I am nearly always moved by reading the Greeks in English, but I am rarely convinced on seeing one of their plays that I am witnessing anything better than a more or less estimable exercise. Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis*, directed by Michael Cacoyannis in an English version by Minos Volanakis (Circle in the Square) and unanimously praised, seems to me no exception.

Though Volanakis' translation possesses a straightforward dignity, I could understand no more than half of the lines assigned to the chorus. It struck me, moreover, as a company of high school girls weaving about in what are presumably pretty patterns of no clear meaning and, for the most part, totally without dramatic impact. We all know or, more correctly, we have all read, that the chorus of Greek tragedy moved in dancelike description, but such movements must have had some relevance to the play's basic argument or significance; if not they must have been as emptily ornamental as what we now behold.

The actors in the Cacoyannis production twist, turn and twirl because, the theatre being in the round (oblong, to be more exact), everyone in the audience must be given a chance to see their faces as often as their backs. But their gyrations struck me as senseless in every other respect. This is not inevitable on a circular or square stage surrounded on three sides by spectators. I was not aware of such distractions in other productions at the Circle in the Square; why should it be so for Greek drama?

Individually, the cast of the new *Iphigenia* is very well chosen. The men (Mitchell Ryan as Agamemnon, Alan Mixon as Menelaus, Christopher Walken as Achilles) are all handsome, virile-looking actors, with fine bodies and powerful voices. One hears everything they say distinctly, though I must add that while their resonance is gratifying their vocal register is limited. They speak on a reduced scale of notes, and being young they might all do further work to remedy this defect.

Jenny Leigh is an appealing actress of promise and Irene Pappas, who plays Clytemnestra, besides being a woman of splendid physique, impressive force and a strikingly beautiful "mask," makes good sense of her lines.

But speaking of masks, one encounters a problem. Greek drama, I am inclined to think, requires the use of masks not because the great size of the amphitheatres in which the plays were first performed aided visibility but because there is something superhuman, beyond the common phenomena of earthly life, in the very conception and writing of these plays. (In terms of

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mundane reality most of the Greek tragedies are ridiculous.) For contemporary purposes masks are perhaps not mandatory but a masklike feeling or appearance, something to raise the actor above workaday realism, is essential.

The three men in the Cacoyannis production vociferate a great deal, which helps to give their figures a certain much needed largeness of dimension, but Irene Pappas who acts more "humanly" by that very circumstance seems to diminish her role and the play's legendary scope. She is too much a "real" mother and can't be that to a truly effective or touching degree because the play's style and form defeat the "natural."

This despite the fact that Euripides is the most modern of Greek dramatists, the one whose "realism" and introduction of what we today call psychology in the theatre made him an object of mockery to certain Greeks of his time and the bête noire of Nietzsche in his masterful though perhaps "mistaken" account of *The Birth of Tragedy*. For all his "intimacy," in comparison with his dramatic forebears, Euripides is still thoroughly Greek, a classic in distress and very nearly in breakdown into latter-day protest and pathos.

The "psychology" in *Iphigenia in Aulis* is especially perceptible in the person of Agamemnon. He is accused of being hungry for power—as he very well may be—and he is caught in the toils of fate, which in this case means that he must yield to the pressure of his army which insists that he sacrifice his daughter, Iphigenia, so that it may advance in battle on Troy; he suffers a father's sorrow because of what he feels compelled to do, and is justified by Iphigenia herself, who sees in her father's action and her own death by his hand a triumph of a supreme value: the triumph of Greece. Thus we have elements of social motivation (and critical indignation), personal pain and patriotic fervor, commingled and very nearly at war with one another. This disturbed synthesis was precisely the innovation in Euripides, regarded as a decline by many of his contemporaries, as well as by certain living scholars and aesthetes, but a mixture which brings him closer to most of us.

Still, I repeat, for all his inner struggle with the religion of his state, Euripides remains Greek to the core. What exactly do I mean by this: what trait ties him to his tradition? In Greek tragedy everything is *paid for*. All action is honorable and, in one way or another, doomed. The most terrible destiny is necessary and by that very necessity redeemed. Beethoven asked himself, "Must it be so?" and answered, "Yes, it must be so." So it was for the Greeks, and for all his urge to deny it, Euripides in *Iphigenia in Aulis* accepts tragic destiny and pronounces it glorious.

San Francisco Mime

Robert Hatch

The San Francisco Mime Troupe opened a three-week New York stand on Thanksgiving Day, playing in the new loft home of the Film-makers Cinematheque on Wooster Street. The piece they chose from their repertory to show on the lower East Side was Goldoni's *L'Amant Militaire*, a *commedia dell'arte* chestnut that, set in Italy during a time of Spanish "pacification," lends itself well to the troupe's satiric improvisations.

This handsome, impertinent young company has drilled and polished itself with a diligence it would never have endured from its elders (one gathers from the context that the mimers see 50 as that incredibly remote age when body and mind crumble into senility). They sing, dance, strut, rant and defy the crummy gods with a disciplined exuberance that sweeps an audience into their power. Their costumes (the men in half-masks) are flamboyant, the backdrops to the platform on which they gambol are stylized to a witty, pretty simplicity, the production is flung on stage with the chaotic efficiency of a good tumbling act. You feel convinced that the mountebanks have come to the fair, which is the idea. Only the diction needs grooming—it is no good being outrageous in a variety of ludicrous accents if what you say is half lost in the hubbub.

It is also a question just how outrageous the Mime Troupe's contemporary interpolations now sound. The times, I felt, have been sneaking up on them. The political dialogue of the general community has itself turned rancid and, at least within the audience the San Francisco players can hope to attract, the nation's leaders are seldom mentioned without the ritual application of abusive adjectives. The Mime Troupe has a reputation for running afoul of the legionnaires and the watch and warders wherever it plays, but it sounded to me more naughty than wicked. Perhaps what the company needs is a script writer old enough to fight dirty. These young men and women are no doubt intent on raising hell, but they get so quickly caught up in celebrating the joy of life that their bite has no poison. You need to be a little decayed yourself to fight corruption.

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Surveys of Americans as consumers are almost as plentiful as advertisers in our consumption-based economy, but surveys cataloguing benefits the public has derived from the "greatest and freest press in the world" and "man's greatest medium of communications," to quote the familiar self-praise of American newspaper publishers and network presidents, are few and far between.

One such was conducted last January by Opinion Research Corporation of Princeton, N.J., for *C.B.S. News*. It was based on the network's "National Current Events Test," and produced results that were shocking when placed alongside other survey findings that most Americans today use television as their primary source of news. Some of the results: 73 per cent of those questioned failed the current-events test; 54 per cent were wrong on questions about United States involvement in Vietnam; 61 per cent guessed wrong about Laos's neutrality; 64 per cent thought captured U.S. fliers had been tried by Hanoi as war criminals; 69 per cent believed that Premier Ky of South Vietnam first assumed office by election; 53 per cent thought the Red Guards were demonstrating to overthrow Mao Tse-tung. "The survey," C.B.S. stated, "indicated that the general public, age 18 and older, has a low understanding and knowledge of current events."

Now another valuation that has come to light suggests that the mass media, and particularly television, fail at their supposed function of informing. It is a recent thesis by Thomas H. Allen, a West Virginia University graduate student who last June interviewed persons representing 100 households in what he described as the worst sections of the Pittsburgh Negro ghetto. The median education was 8.2 years, average income $2,800 and male unemployment 19 per cent.

If the sample seems small, it is nevertheless formidable by A. C. Nielsen standards: 100 Negroes are perhaps two dozen fewer than those representing all Negroes in the entire United States in the Nielsen national television sample of 1,200 homes.

Every household in the Allen survey had at least one television and one radio set. Only 14 per cent subscribed to a daily newspaper, 60 per cent to a Sunday paper and 13 per cent to a Negro weekly. They read only a small part of the papers: "styles" and "sales" were what they read most. Forty-two per cent received at least one magazine. *Ebony* was the most popular; others mentioned were *True Detective, True Story, Secret* and *Modern Romance*. There were two subscribers to *Look*, one to *Reader's Digest*, none to *Life, Time* or *Newsweek*. Eighty-six per cent watched the television news some time between 5 and 7 P.M. every night.

Evidence was clear, Allen said, that the Pittsburgh ghetto resident depended almost entirely on the TV evening newscast for national or international news. Yet interviews displayed widespread ignorance about such contemporary commonplaces as the location of Vietnam and the Suez Canal (the Arab-Israeli war had broken out just before the survey), and the identity of such news makers as Charles Percy and Ronald Reagan.

Allen concluded that the mass media do little to stabilize ghetto society. Through emphasis on advertising and intensification of unattainable desires for material goods, they may even serve as an indirect cause of social discontent and violence. He noted that Sukarno praised some Hollywood executives in 1956 for stimulating postwar revolutions in Asia by convincing Asians—via films showing fine clothes, automobiles and refrigerators—that they had been deprived of their birthright.

This unsettling effect on the ghetto may have gathered violent momentum when the Negro rioter saw himself in the headlines or TV newscasts, the disorder being fed by the journalistic tradition that gives special attention to violence or the threat of it.

The Allen thesis was brought to my attention by William B. Monroe, *N.B.C. News* director in Washington, who referred to it recently in a talk on race and news media, scoring several self-critical points himself.

"News media people," Monroe said, "need to educate themselves more deeply about the Negro revolution, the white resistance and the possibilities of communication between the races. Second, we need more reporting, and different reporting, about Negroes. . . . We have plenty of reporting about Negroes as Negroes, in other words, as members of a race. We need more reporting about them as people. . . .

"We need more reporting, and different reporting, about whites. Whites get their news from white-controlled media. These media have usually dealt with Negroes as Negroes, as members of a race. But they have seldom dealt with whites as whites, as members of a race. To a decent white editor, who doesn't regard himself as prejudiced, it comes natural to look on Negroes as Negroes and to regard white people as people. It's a case of the blind leading the blind. [An editor] two years ago said he believed in depth reporting based on the assumption that white people were not so much prejudiced as they were unaware of the Negro, his life and problems, But I have the impression that *somebody* is prejudiced, and I don't think it's only the cop on the beat. We need more reporting *about prejudice*. We need the help of psychiatrists, psychologists and social scientists to get at it. We need to talk about things we don't like to talk about, things we hate to talk about, things we angrily deny exist.

"I have wondered sometimes why this whole racial business is discussed in this country with such unrelieved grimness, with such pessimism, hopelessness, with such foreboding. I suspect it's because we all dimly understand that we've been piddling around with superficial treatment to relieve our symptoms, but we have not yet really *begun* the operation to cut out the cancer."

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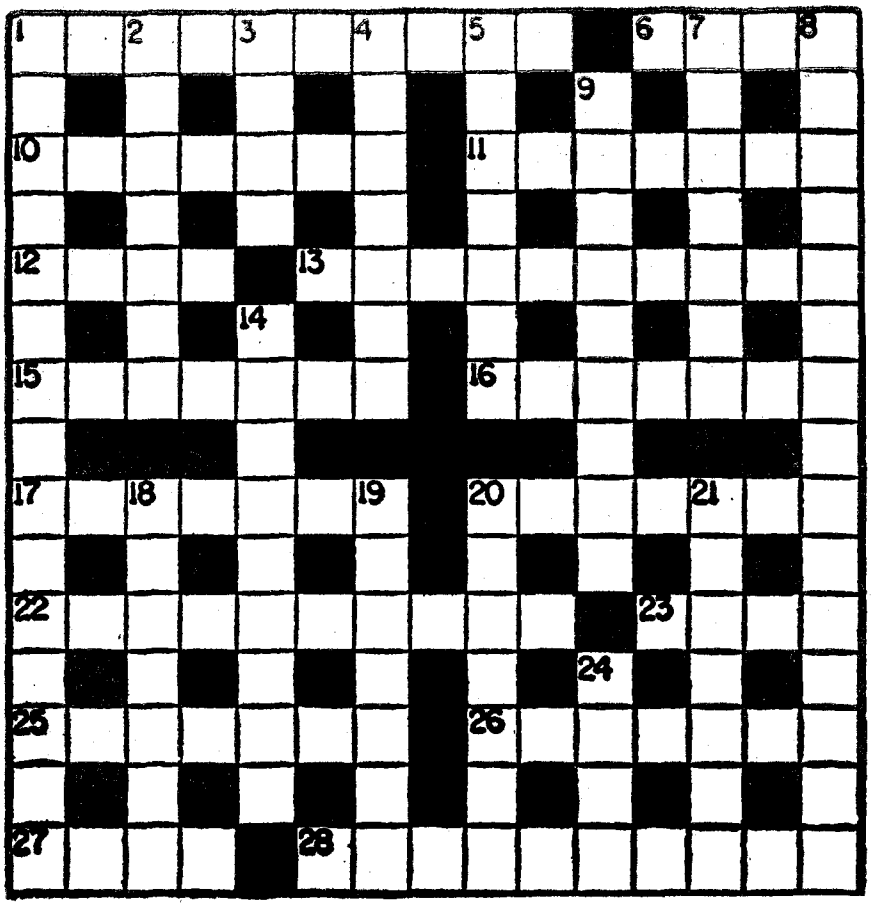

ACROSS:

1 Taken off the job, runs to make precautionary interruptions of one class or another. (4,6)
6 Propaganda is extremely useful if you get in deep around Malaya. (4)
10 When people are by 1 across, they're really not frightened—only alerted to possible danger. (7)
11 and 14 down Putting things that beat together in conversation? (5-2-5,4)
12 They're sometimes hard to catch in a downpour. (4)
13 Certainly not disagreeable to purpose, that is, to point inside the religious community. (10)
15 Feeling of this was one of the things not akin to Longfellow's pain. (7)
16 Short for this type of facsimile. (7)
17 Reacted differently and offered a certain amount of amusement. (7)
20 Gets up a diffierent alternative to customs. (7)
22 They evidence artistic handling of matter sent with some difficulty. (10)
23 Press material for old-fashioned 25? (4)
25 Stop back for the equivalent. (7)
26 and 3 down Is the point so made, made the hard way? (The end of the run is sudden if you do.) (4,2,1,4)
27 An American pull-back? (4)
28 Great savings institutions imply a lot of net results here. (5,5)

DOWN:

1 One is supposedly taught to stand up for his work. (7,5,3)
2 Ties directly on this, perhaps, but there's time to get dressed around it. (7)
3 See 26 across.
4 You're probably well covered here, and soon rid of it. (7)
5 The harbor, in its own manner of speaking. (2,5)
7 Make an application again to retire? (7)
8 It implies just one day of rest after another—somewhat like several weeks' vacation. (1,5,2,7)
9 The most important part of the joint of Françoise d'Aubigné? (9)
14 See 11 across.
18 Is what some people pay for lodgings not brought up around the state capital? (7)
19 The pen name of Sir Reed? (7)
20 A worker might find being one a strain. (7)
21 A noble cut indeed, though the sound of the title is really meant to be just above. (7)
24 No parting without it, or at least parting is difficult. (4)

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ACROSS: 1 Submarginal; 9 Mordecai; 10 Cramps; 11 Astride; 12 Subside; 14 Ascham; 15 Idée fixe; 17 Farthing; 20 13 and 7 All the king's horses; 22 and 16 Mercury fulminate 24 Furious; 26 Tivoli; 27 Imitated; 28 Beleaguered. DOWN: 2 Undershot; 3 Macadam; 4 Rain; 5 Include; 6 Amass; 8 Spadix; 18 Acetic; 19 Igraine; 20 Abusive; 23 and 21 Close-hauled; 25 Ring.

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